REPORT RESUMES

ED 015 225 24 UD 004 693

AN ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA ON THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS OF "VINE CITY"--A NEGRO SLUM GHETTO WITHIN THE CITY OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA. FINAL REPORT.

BY- HALVORSEN, MARCIA L.
SPELMAN COLL., ATLANTA, GA.

REPORT NUMBER BR-6-8162 PUB DATE 15 JUN 67
CONTRACT OEC-2-6-068162-0523
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$2.60 63P.

DESCRIPTORS- *NEGROES, *DATA ANALYSIS, *ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGEMENT, *BEHAVIOR PATTERNS, *SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, STATISTICAL ANALYSIS, COMMUNITY SURVEYS, TABLES (DATA), INTERVIEWS, FAMILY STRUCTURE, HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, FAMILY INCOME, EMPLOYMENT, POLITICAL ATTITUDES, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, SOCIAL ATTITUDES, ACTIVITIES, SOCIAL CLASS, GHETTOS, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

IN THIS REPORT DATA DESCRIBING THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS OF "VINE CITY," A NEGRO SLUM IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, ARE STATISTICALLY SUMMARIZED AND ANALYZED. ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIX PERSONS, MOSTLY WOMEN, REPRESENTING 11 PERCENT OF "VINE CITY'S" FAMILY POPULATION, WERE INTERVIEWED BY STUDENTS AT A NEARBY COLLEGE. THE INTERVIEW TOPICS, AROUND WHICH THE REPORT IS ORGANIZED, WERE--FAMILY STRUCTURE, HOUSING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, BUDGET AND SPENDING, INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT, POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS AGENCIES OF AUTHORITY, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, DEVIANT BEHAVIOR, AND SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION. IT WAS FOUND THAT INCOME LEVELS ARE OFTEN BELOW NATIONAL POVERTY FIGURES. SCHOOL DROPOUT RATES ARE HIGH, AND EMPLOYMENT IS EITHER MENIAL OR UNCERTAIN. MORE HOMES ARE HEADED BY WOMEN THAN NATIONAL STATISTICS WOULD INDICATE. POOR HOUSING AT EXORBITANT RENTS, HIGH-PRICED, LOW QUALITY MERCHANDISE IN NEIGHBORHOOD STORES, AND INADEQUATE RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ADD TO THE GENERAL IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY RESIDENTS. AGENCIES WHICH REPRESENT AUTHORITY ARE VIEWED WITH HOSTILITY, AND CONFLICT WITH THE LAW IS COMMON. FEW PEOPLE BOTHER TO VOTE. BECAUSE THE POOR WITHDRAW AND DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN SOCIETY, THEY BECOME DEPENDENT ON THE DECISIONS AND POLICIES OF AN OUTSIDE AUTHORITY AND UNABLE TO CONTROL THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. FOR THE WAR ON POVERTY TO BE EFFECTIVE, THERE SHOULD BE MAJOR CHANGES IN POWER RELATIONSHIPS SO THAT THE POOR CAN HAVE GREATER CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. (LB)

ED015225

BR-6-8162
PA 24

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

04693

FINAL REPORT

OEC 2-6-068162-052

Project Title:	An Analysis and Interpretation of Data on the Social Characteristics of Residents of "Vine City" - a Negro Slum Ghetto within the City of Atlanta, Georgia
Project Number:	Project 6-8162 Spelman College Atlanta, Georgia, 30314
Submitted by:	Marcia L. Halvorsen, Assistant Professor Department of Economics Spelman College Marcia L. Halvorsen
Date:	June 15, 1967

UD 004 693

CONTENTS

Page

Background to the Study 1

Family Structure. 3

Housing 8

Education 11

Health. 15

Budget and Spending Patterns. 18

Income. 26

Employment. 30

Political Behavior. 40

Attitudes toward Agencies of Authority. 43

Social Activities, Entertainment and Recreation 48

Deviant Behavior. 52

Social Class Identification 55

Conclusions 60

Poverty in "Vine City", Atlanta - An Analysis

BACKGROUND

There is a rapidly growing body of literature on the sociological, economic and political nature of poverty, the Negro "movement", the changing South, and the urban community. But most authors deal with one or another of these problem areas and there is a definite need for a more comprehensive analysis that will help us to understand what it means to be poverty-stricken and live in a black ghetto in the Southern city, where patterns of segregation and discrimination persist just as harshly as ever for the poor Negro, if not as harshly for the more affluent Negro on the other side of the city.

Thus far, very little has been done in the way of controlled and objective study of the nature and problems of the Southern urban community whose populace is both Negro and poverty-stricken. Such communities or ghettos exist, and, as the South develops more urban centers, more such communities will exist. Residential integration will not be meaningfully accomplished in the near future and the economic progress of the growing numbers of urban Negroes will be slow and hesitant. It is therefore important that we gain perspective and understanding concerning these communities.

Full knowledge and appreciation of the social characteristics of the people of urban Negro slums is important at many levels. First, the implications are clearly important to the growing Southern city, as it tries to formulate rational policies concerning housing, education, law enforcement, employment, and all those policies concerned with bringing its poor into the mainstream of city life - as active participipents and not merely as passive recipients of some program or other.

The findings are important, as well, to urban areas throughout the country. Urban Negro slums are approached with fear and hostility, all too often, and this is an approach that prohibits understanding. Fear of violence and of destructive uprisings result in policies that, it is hoped, will "keep the lid on". Clearly, a new perspective, a new understanding is needed if we really mean it when we say we wish to wage a "war on poverty", and not merely live through a series of long, hot summers. Many of the Negroes in non-Southern urban areas come from Southern communities, and evidence gathered concerning the Southern urban Negro should shed light on the characteristics of urban Negroes elsewhere.

The findings of this study are most directly relevant to the formulation of rational policies to combat the problems that face the residents of "Vine City", the Atlanta community studied. Hopefully, those policies will be formulated cooperatively by people of the community with city leaders. Involvment of the poor is a necessary first step, we believe, in breaking down poverty; for, as the findings of this study indicate, non-participation and dependence are at the core of what it means to be poor - or at least, this kind of poor.

The study involved undergraduate students of the social sciences at Spelman College in the collection of the data. The aim, in part, was to train students in the area of social research as an important aspect of their educational preparation in the social sciences. A parenthetical and unexpected, but not unimportant effect in this connection, was that the study served as an effective instrument to awaken the students to the vast complexities of the problem of Negro poverty and to stimulate an interest in and channel energies toward meeting those complexities. We consider this to be one of the more important tasks confronting this country currently.

The study was developed by the instructor and students in a sociology course at Spelman College during the spring semester of 1965. We carefully established a set of hypotheses about the social characteristics of the poor, which we wished to test in the community of "Vine City" through personal, face-to-face interviews by the student members of the class. The interviewers were, of course, Negro. Training in drawing up the interview questionnaire and in interviewing techniques preceded the interviewing period in "Vine City" in early April.

The community of "Vine City" consists of an area of about forty square blocks, near the center of the City of Atlanta. The population center is along Magnolia Street, and, although the population density is quite irregular in the total community, in general, the population becomes less dense as one moves from the center outward on radii. An actual count of the population of "Vine City", that is to say, of our statistical universe, at the time of the survey found 1,275 families living there.

An arbitrary grid was placed over the total area and it was divided into ten interviewing areas, so that we used a simple random sample. We obtained extensive material from 136 persons concerning their families, and a concentration of interviews was obtained from the more densely populated blocks in the community.

Our sample, then, was 11% of the family population of the community. In an attempt to discover whether there was any significant interviewer bias in his selection of the households within his assigned area of interview, we tabulated the area of interview against the total size of the household. Testing revealed no significant differences however, in the mean size of households interviewed in each area of the community.

We interviewed 109 women (80% of the sample) and 27 men. The age of the respondents ranged from 19 years to 85 years, the median age was 42 years, and the average age was 44.9 years. By age groups:

27 respondents were from 19-29 years old,
31 respondents were from 30-39 years old,
26 respondents were from 40-49 years old,
34 respondents were from 50-64 years old, and
18 respondents were 65 and over

The interview questionnaire consisted of a series of questions, put to the respondent by the interviewer, concerning eleven areas of interest: family structure; housing; education; health patterns; budget and spending patterns; income; employment; political behavior and attitude toward agencies of authority; social activities, entertainment and recreation; deviant behavior patterns; and social class identification. The report is organized around each of these areas of interest.

This report is primarily a statistical summary and analysis of the data collected, with some interpretation. More interpretation of the data is clearly possible and we hope to write further, using, perhaps a case-study approach as we continue to explore the levels of social significance of the data collected.

We wish to thank the persons at the Rich Electronic Computer Center at the Georgia Institute of Technology who contributed much time and energy, and of course, the students, whose eagerness and deep concern led to this study of "Vine City".

FAMILY STRUCTURE

> Woman, age 53: "I guess I'm 53. I wasn't taught my age. I'm the only family I have - lost complete track of my two children a long time ago. But, I do fine. Work hard, and I'm a good cook, and I live a good Christian life."

There is a prevalence of two kinds of households in "Vine City". First, there is a sizable group of older residents who live either alone or with one or maybe two other people. And second, there is the group of relatively young adults who live with children and often with miscellaneous relatives, making for larger households. In the latter group, we often found the young husband and wife living with various relatives on the wife's side of the family; that is, her mother, her sister or her aunt.

In total, the size of the household in our sample varied from one person to fifteen persons. Both the median and mean size, however, were 4.6 persons, which included, on the average, 2.5 adults and 2.1 children.

The average is smaller than anticipated, but is explained, in part, by the fact that there were a number of families (36 or 26%) with only one or two members, particularly in the upper age brackets. In fact, 83% of the families interviewed had six members or fewer. And, there were 56 households (41%) with no children under 18 years of age present, adding to the evidence that a substantial proportion of the community consists of small households with older members.

On the other hand, a surprising number of households contained more than 2 adults. Fifty-one or 37.5% of the households interviewed included from 3 to 6 adults. These people were generally a parent or siblings of one of the spouses, particularly the wife. Thus, we found that about 26% of the households interviewed spanned either three or four generations, while only 46% included members of two generations. In the latter cases, the households usually were of the nuclear type (husband and wife and children) or consisted of a woman and her children, but they often included miscellaneous relatives as well - nephews and nieces, the sister of the wife, etc. The remaining households in the sample (39 or 28.7%) were one-generation households, and included 16 cases where the husband and wife resided alone, 11 cases where single females lived alone, and then miscellaneous collections of husband and/or wife and roomers or non-relatives and/or siblings. Table 1 summarizes these patterns for the sample:

Table 1: Basic Family Structure

Members of the Family	N	%
Wife (or single female)plus children	34	25.0
Wife (or single female), alone	18	13.2
Husband and wife, alone	16	11.8
Husband and wife plus children	34	25.0
Husband and wife and children plus others	29	21.3
Husband plus children	2	1.5
Miscellaneous adult males	3	2.2
Total	136	100.0

We defined, as a child, any person under 18 years of age. With respect to the children present in the homes interviewed, we found 56 households (41.1%) with none present. There were 29 households (21.3%) with 4 or more children (one family had 13 children), while the remaining 51 families (37.5%) were divided evenly in including one, two, or three children. As expected, there proved to be a very high coefficient of correlation (r = .91) between the size of the household and the number of children present.

The Negro family, historically, has been centered around the woman. It has been she who has made the major decisions and borne the responsibility for raising the children. These patterns are rapidly changing in the growing Negro middle class. But they hold strong among poor Negro families, at least in the South, where the old patterns of segregation and discrimination persist, and continue to keep the Negro male in social roles that deminish and erode his feeling of manhood. These roles allow him little responsibility, and, of course, this contributes toward his role in the life of the family.

We found that in the households interviewed, women were designated as the head of the household in 72 instances (53%), and men were designated as such 47% of the time. We also found that in one-third of the sample, no adult male was present in the household, so that the latter figure accounts for most (70%) of the household where there was an adult male. Thus, even in those households where the husband was present, the wife was frequently considered the head of the house. Further, we believe that even where the man was called the head of the house, he often really was not, as responses to such questions as, "Who pays the bills?", "Who disciplines the children?", and "Who makes the major purchases?", most often involved a woman.

For example, with respect to the question, "Who disciplines the children (in the household)?", in the 82 cases where the question was relevant, the child's mother was indicated 52 times, the grandmother 8 times, the child's mother and grandmother another 4 times, and the child's aunt was indicated once; that is, women were indicated in 65 out of the 82 relevant cases; the child's mother and father were indicated in ten cases; and the child's father, alone, was indicated in the remaining seven cases. We related these responses to the over-all family structure. We found that in almost all cases where there were children, no matter what the family structure, the child's mother was given the responsibility of disciplining the children. Testing found that these attributes are significantly related at the .01 level. The children are quite clearly raised by their mother or some other woman if she is not present.

A further clue to the locus of responsibility in those households in which miscellaneous relatives resided with a nuclear family, was that women other than the wife in the family were designated as the head of the house in sixteen out of the 72 households said to be headed by women. In these cases, the mother or the aunt of one of the spouses was the head of house.

We wondered if there were any significant differences among the size of the households headed by men as against women, and found that the mean size of the households headed by husbands was 4.8 persons; by the wife, 4.3 persons; and by other females, 4.8 persons. These differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance, however.

It is often mentioned in the literature on poverty that the poor tend to have many children and that there is a high rate of infant mortality. We asked a series of questions of our 136 respondents concerning how many living children they had and whether they had had any children who were now deceased. The findings may be summarized as follows: there were 99 respondents who had children, living at the time of the survey; and a total of 362 living children was reported for an average of 3.6 children per respondent. Some of these are adult children and reside elsewhere, but the sample found 287 children present among the 136 households interviewed. A few of these, of course, were not the children of the respondent, but rather the children of other persons in or out of the household. Further, 36.4% (132) of these children of respondents were actually adults, another 12.5% (45) were "teen-agers", another 32.8% (119) were grade school age, and only 18.2% (66) were of pre-school age. This reflects in part the age of the respondents, who were most frequently over 40 years of age.

In addition, 36 respondents (26.5%) indicated that they had had children that were now deceased. It was interesting that about one-half of these people (17) had more than one deceased child. One woman said that she had had 10 children now deceased, and two other women had each had five children now deceased. A total of 75 children now deceased was reported by these 36 respondents, and 42 of these children had died before the age of one year. Twelve others had died between the ages of one and three years, four had died between the ages of four and twelve years, five had died at adult ages and twelve children died at an age not reported (10 of these were the children of the one woman referred to above - a widow, aged 66, who also reported she had seventeen living children.)

The cause of death of infants was primarily still-birth, birth defects, and pneumonia. Pneumonia, which appears to be very prevalent, accounted for the deaths of eleven of the 75 children reported deceased. Whooping cough, "choking", leukemia, collitis, rheumatic fever, and typhoid fever were also reported as the cause of death of the very young children.

There was virtually no correlation between the age of the respondent and the number of deceased children he or she had had ($r = .027$). This suggests that since many of the deceased children had reportedly died at birth, methods used at childbirth and the extent of pre-natal care have not changed much. If they had improved, we could expect the younger respondents to have had fewer deaths among their infant children, proportionately.

We wondered if there was a high degree of marriage instability among the families in "Vine City", and what kinds of marital patterns dominate. We found a large number of "common law" marriages and a large number of (non-legal) separations among the respondents. The distribution of respondents with respect to their marital status at the time of the survey is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Marital Status

	N	%
Married (in ceremony)	60	44.1
Married (common law)	15	11.0
Single (never married)	14	10.3
"Separated"	27	19.9
Widowed	18	13.2
Divorced	2	1.5
Total	136	100.0

Further, eight of those persons who reported themselves as "separated" had had a common-law marriage, and four of the "widowed" had had a common law marriage. Thus, 27 respondents (19.8%) indicated that their marriage was currently or had been of the common law variety. There was, likewise, a high degree of "separations", as 27 respondents (19.8%) reported having that status at the time of the survey.

We related the current marital status of the respondent to his or her present age and found that among those who were married in a ceremony, the mean age was 41.1 years; among the "common law married", the mean age was 44.3 years; among the single respondents, the mean age was 42.6 years; among the "separated" but had been married in a ceremony, the mean age was 41.2 years; among "common law" married but now "separated", the mean age was 35.8; and among the widowed, the mean age was 66.6 years. Testing revealed that these mean differences reached the .01 level of significance.

Of the 122 cases of "now married" or "had been married" (widowed, divorced, or separated), 43 respondents indicated that he and/or his spouse had been married previously. Of this number, eighteen women and seventeen were reported as having been married once before, three women and three men were reported as having been married twice before, and one woman and one man were reported as having been married three times previously. Thus, out of 122 couples, 43 (or 35%) had been married previously, at least once, leading us to the conclusion that there is a large number of unstable marriages.

The age at which females were reported as marrying ranged from fourteen to fifty years (n = 113). The median age was 18 years, and the most frequently reported age was sixteen years. On the other hand, the age at which males were reported as marrying, (n = 97), ranged from fourteen to fifty-seven years. The median age was 22 years, and the most frequently reported age was 19 years.

We related the current marital status of the respondent to the age of marriage, first of the wife, and secondly, of the husband. The mean ages in the various groups are shown in Table 3. Testing revealed that the differences in the mean ages of wives and husbands in the various categories of marital status reached the .01 and .05 levels of significance, respectively.

Table 3: Average Age at which the Spouses Married

Marital Status of Respondents	Wife	Husband
Married (in ceremony)	19.5	22.1
Married (common law)	26.6	29.5
Separated[1]	17.2	22.4
Separated[2]	18.0	24.3
Widowed	18.6	26.6

[1] Marriage had been of the ceremony type.
[2] Marriage had been of the common law type.

It seems, on the whole, that family life centers around the wife and her relatives. Marital patterns fit into this organization, as common law marriage may, as Oscar Lewis puts it, offer the woman "more protection of her property rights and surer custody of her children than formal marriage does."[1]

The organization of family life around the woman and her relatives helps to explain why the concept of "illegitimate" as against "legitimate" births is almost meaningless. Respondents were asked, "How do you feel about illegitimacy?", and "How do you think the un-wed mother should be treated?" On the first question, 40 respondents (29.4%) replied indifferently, indicating by their comments that they did not consider illegitimate children a problem: "it's nobody's business"; "no worse, than anything else"; "it doesn't matter"; or "it's OK if the child is wanted and taken care of". Another 29 respondents "didn't know"; again, this was usually an expression of lack of concern. However, 47 respondents (34.6%) thought it was "bad" or "wrong" and ten others (7.4%) agreed, but went further and said some action should be taken to "eliminate" or "prevent" illegitimacy. Ten (7.4%) respondents considered it a mistake or unnecessary.

On the second question, almost two-thirds the respondents (88 or 64.7%) thought that her family should care for the un-wed mother. Another thirty people (22%) thought she should be treated "like anyone else" and were indifferent towards the question. Only seventeen respondents (12.5%) suggested punishment or ostracization from the community.

All in all, we disagree with those writers who argue that family life of the poor is unorganized and who focus on its instability. We found that families in "Vine City" are organized differently from that of the larger, middle-class society, which orients the family around the husband and the nuclear unit. Of course, from the middle class perspective, the poor appear unorganized or disorganized. However, it is fallacious to judge the poor by middle class values. The problems of the poor must be understood from their perspective if a positive and constructive approach to the solution of those problems is to be taken.

---

[1] O. Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Scientific American, October, 1966, p. 19.

HOUSING

> Woman, age 38, who lives with husband and six children in four rooms: "We do the best we can and that is all that can be done - we just never know what will happen."
>
> Woman, age 19, who lives with her husband and three children in three rooms: "Well, the bathroom is just like outdoors; we need fixtures and we don't have hot water."

A visitor to Atlanta, if he happened to drive through the community of "Vine City" on some weekday afternoon, might well find something picturesque about what he saw: people sitting on their narrow porches talking to the neighbors who are sitting on their porches; children playing in the red dirt in the narrow strip between the house and the street where the traffic rolls by quickly and noisily, stirring up the heaps of debris as it goes; roses climbing the walls of unpainted houses; and women carefully tending green plants in assorted jars perched precariously on sagging porch railings. Poverty may often appear picturesque or even quaint to those who merely pass through in air-conditioned automobiles. But, of course, this view is unreal. The flower pots and the play area represent the painful efforts of the people to get some measure of satisfaction out of their miserable physical environment.

The housing conditions in "Vine City" reflect a continuum of possibilities in housing. Most of the property is absentee-owned, run-down and even dilapidated. At the other extreme, there are some well-kept homes that are owner-occupied. About twenty per cent of the families interviewed (28) owned their own homes. (Over one-third of these were paying mortgages.) These families were among the more well-to-do residents of the community, and are what one community leader has termed "the upper poor". Although "Vine City" is clearly, over-all, a slum community, the presence of some relatively well-off families is not incongruous, given the fact that housing for Negroes - of any income level - is restricted, and, given the fact that "Vine City" is a stable community that offers various kinds of satisfactions to its members, "upper poor" or "lower poor".

The homes in the community usually consist of three rooms (as reported by 40.4% of those interviewed) or four rooms (24.2%), which generally include a front room, kitchen and bedroom, plus a bathroom of sorts. Very often one home is attached to a second - a duplex of the row-house type -, and sometimes one structure houses more than two families in separate quarters. The average size of the homes in our sample was 4.2 rooms, while the median size was just 4.0 rooms. The average size, then, was slightly larger than the median, and this is because there are a few relatively large homes included. One home in the sample had 15 rooms, and five others had ten rooms each. These few large homes were almost all occupied by their owners.

Table 4 summarizes the responses to the question: "What kinds of major repairs are needed in your house?" on the next page. The twenty-five respondents who said their homes needed no major repairs were usually homeowners and long-time residents of the community. Eighty-seven families (64%) said more than one of these kinds of major repairs were needed; and 36 families (26.5%) said five or more of the kinds of major repairs listed in the table were needed in their homes

Table 4: Major Repairs Needed

	N	%
Painting	78	57.3
Walls	64	47.0
Ceilings	60	44.1
Screens	59	43.4
Floors	47	34.6
Plumbing	28	20.6
Wiring	25	18.4
No repairs needed	25	18.4

However, interviewers did not always agree. One younger woman respondent (age 33) told the interviewer that she considered the house "all right", and the response was recorded. In a footnote comment, the interviewer wrote: "to me the house is in terrible condition. She is very satisfied with the house. It is clean in the sense that she has swept and dusted plus straightened it up; but the house needs painting, replastering, and a plumber." Standards of comfort and need are decidedly different from group to group, but lest the reader conclude that the interviewer was judging the situation from totally irrelevant middle or upper-class standards, let me add that this particular interviewer, a student at Spelman College at the time, had lived with her family in "Vine City" during her childhood.

Other housing conditions may be summarized here. Two-thirds of the homes in the sample (92 or 67.6%) were heated by a gas stove; another 10% were heated by a wood stove, and 5% were heated by an oil stove. Only 15% of the homes had central heating. With respect to plumbing facilities, only 99 homes (72.7%) had both hot and cold running water. There were 36 families (26.4%) with cold water only and one family reported no running water. Most of the families' bathrooms contained a sink, tub and toilet bowl (98 or 72%), but five families had a toilet bowl only, and three families had not even that. Again, there were nine families who were without electricity at the time of the survey. There were 92 families (67.6%) that said they were bothered by insects, bugs, mice and/or rats. Most frequently mentioned of these were bugs (by 50.7% of the total sample), and then mice (by 33.1%), and then rats (by 26.5%).

The amount of rent paid by tenant respondents ranged from $30 per month to $69 per month. The amount was directly related to the size of the house. In the 28 cases where the home was owner-occupied, and where mortgage was perhaps paid, but no rent, the average size was 6.57 rooms; where the rent was between $30-$39 per month (33 cases), the average size was 3.45 rooms; where the rent was between $40-$49 per month (41 cases), the average size was 3.34 rooms; and, where the rent was between $50-59 or $60-69 per month, the average size was 4.6 rooms. Testing revealed that these differences in the mean number of rooms were significant at the .01 level.

However, there was no correlation found between the size of the household and the number of rooms in the house ($r = .08$). How many rooms a family rents depends on the level of its income and not on the number of people in the family. In many cases, severe overcrowding existed, as families larger than the average (4.6 members) were living in houses less than the average size of 4.2 rooms.

In the homes which were owned by the occupants, not only were there more rooms and fewer repairs generally needed, but there was only one case reported where mice and rats were present. However, in both of the two major rental categories, ($30-$39 and $40-$49 per month), there were more households reporting mice and rats than expected, proportionately, particularly in the $40-$49 per month rental group. Testing found that these attributes (amount of rent and prevalence of mice and rats) were significantly related at the .05 level.

We found no significant relationship between the amount of monthly rent and the number and kinds of repairs needed. In the rental group, $40-$49 per month, a few more respondents reported more needed repairs than would have occurred randomly, but the differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. This finding at least does not refute some observations about housing in "Vine City"; that is, that the rental value of the porperty is largely demand-determined and not determined by the condition of the property. Many people in the community feel their rent is too high but are afraid to complain about needed repairs and outright violations of the local housing codes for fear of having their rent raised.

There is a solid core of long-time residents in "Vine City" which gives the community a stability and continuity of membership lacking in many slum areas. About 54% of the families interviewed had occupied the same house for five years or longer. In fact, 19% of the families interviewed had lived in the same house fifteen years or longer. On the other hand, there were 18.4% which had lived in their present house for one year or less. In answer to the question, "How many times have you moved in the past five years?", there were 37 families (27.2%) which had moved more than once. One family indicated that it had moved fifteen times in the five year period, 1960-1964. At the beginning of the month, when the rent is due, one can drive through the streets and see the belongings of more than one family piled on the curb. However, the patterns of residential moving tend to support rather than refute the notion that there is a stability of community membership. Very often a family will move to another house within the boundaries of "Vine City" - perhaps around the corner or to the next block.

We were interested in knowing if there was any significant relationship between the identity of the head of house and residential stability. The mean number of times moved in the five years preceding the survey was 1.13 in households headed by husbands, 1.42 in households headed by wives, and 1.40 times in households headed by other females. These differences were found to be not significant.

We attempted to relate the number of times moved in the five year period to income levels to see if there was any relationship - for example, were those who most frequently moved primarily those with the lowest income? However, testing found significant differences in the variances within the several groups of "movers", and testing of differences in the mean number of times moved by families in different income groups failed.

Further, the mean number of years lived in the same house was the same for households headed by husbands (7.8 years) as for those headed by the wife (7.7 years). In the houses headed by other females, the mean was higher, 12.8 years, primarily influenced by a few very long-time families whose head of house was the mother of one of the spouses. However, even these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. The length of residency of the respondent was fairly strongly correlated with his or her age ($r = .39$). That is, the older the respondent the longer he or she was likely to have lived in his or her present home.

Two factors that have been described here are particularly significant, we think, in trying to understand the nature of poverty in "Vine City". First, the life of the community centers around those families who have lived there longest. These families are accorded higher status in the community, and this is particularly true for those families which own their own homes. Stability of residence is an important measure of family security. It denotes that those families have been able to meet, more or less continuously, their basic needs. This becomes an important distinction where most of the families do not have this kind of security.

As discussed in a later section of the report concerning income levels, many families interviewed reported incomes in 1964 as $2,000 or less. The most common rent is about $39 per month. For the family with an annual income of $2,000, or an average monthly income of $166, the rent may account for 30% of his income. Subsistence becomes precarious when such a large proportion of income must go to housing, particularly when that income is irregular and unstable and not assured from one week to the next.

Secondly, with respect to doing anything about housing conditions, most of the families we talked with indicated a strong feeling of helplessness. They are afraid to complain about their housing for fear of having to move, or, as earlier mentioned, facing a higher rent. A few who may wish to complain may not know where to register their complaint, since the rent collector is only an employee of the landlord. And, as is the case in many slum communities, the property changes hands relatively frequently as the slumlord tries to maximize his economic gain from that property by manipulating the various tax and financial considerations involved. In the meantime, back in "Vine City", the people struggle and hope they can meet next month's rent.

EDUCATION

> Male, age 41, about his daughter, a "drop-out": "She refuses to go back (to school) because she is a mother."
>
> Woman, age 34, who lives with her five teen-age children: "Children are seldom in the school programs - we can't afford the necessary requirements- and, they're apprehensive about participating in programs."

Education is the main road to high status in our society, generally, and middle class socialization effectively inculcates achievement as the goal for most middle-class children. In the lower classes, however, socialization is oriented more toward survival and not towards achievement. The lack of emphasis on achievement, in the middle class sense, is particularly important among poor Negroes, where the people face, realistically, the facts of economic and social discrimination. There is a strong general belief in education in the abstract, as being "the only way out", but, also, there is the belief that it takes a lot of education. A little is not much better than none at all. That is, the Negro boy may feel that the job he can get if he finishes high school will not be that much better than the job he can get if he drops-out earlier. If he could go on to college, that might make some difference, since doors of opportunity are opening at that level. But, college is beyond his world, by and large.

With respect to the level of formal education attained by the 136 respondents in our sample, we found it ranged from no education at all (3 respondents) through four years of college (one woman respondent was a public school teacher). The median level attained was 8 grades, and the average level was 7.9 grades. There was a strong negative correlation between the age of the respondent and the level of education achieved (r = -.56). The older the respondent, the fewer years of schooling he had had, generally. Many of the younger respondents said they had completed the 10th or 11th grades, for example, while among the older respondents, completion of only the 5th or 6th grade was quite common.

We asked about the level of formal education of the husband or wife of the respondent. About 20% of the sample did not know, and the 10% of the sample who were single found the question irrelevant. For the rest, the median level of education reported was again the 8th grade, and the average level for these 95 spouses was 8.4 grades. We found a strong positive correlation between the education level of the respondent and that of his or her spouse (r = .68)

What about the children? At the time of the survey, 61 (44.8%) households interviewed included children who were currently in school. (There were 54 households which contained no children under 18, and another 21 families where the children were all of pre-school ages.) Among the 61 households we found 152 children (persons under 18) reported as currently in school.

With respect to the education of the 152 children, a series of specific questions concerning each child was able to account fully for the education of 135 of them, as well as for that of 117 children who were members of the household but not currently in school. Thus, we were able to account for 252 of the total 287 children reported living with the respondents.

Out of this total number of 287 children, only eight respondents indicated that any of the children in the house had ever gone or were attending nursery school. As one woman put it, "Nursery schools? The poor people would have to work night and day to send their children to the nursery school."

The questions asked about each child in the household were: "What was the last grade he completed?" "Is he currently enrolled in school?" "If not, what is the major reason?" "If yes, what kind of school?" "If yes, what kind of academic program is he enrolled in?" "Has he ever made the honor roll?" "If yes, which grades?" "Has he ever failed a grade?" "If yes, which grades?" "What was the major reasons for the failure?" "How many days of school has he missed this school year?" and "What were the major reasons for his absences?"

We found that, at the time of the survey, the last grade completed ran as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Last Grade Completed by 251 Children
in the Households, as of April, 1965

	N	%
None	95	37.8
1st-4th	70	27.9
5th-8th	46	18.3
9th-12th[1]	38	15.1
College, Fr., or Sr.	2	.9
	251	100.0

[1] One-half of these had last completed the ninth grade.

Table 6 indicates the distribution of responses concerning whether the children in the household were currently enrolled in school.

Table 6: School Enrolment, April, 1965

School	Number of Children	
Public grade school	97	
Private grade school	4	
High school, [illegible] general program	26	
High school, college prep program	4	
High school, business program	2	
College	2	
Total		135
Not Enrolled		
"too young"	96	
"retarded"	4	
"dropped out"	17	
Total		117

Seventeen children, in all, were reported as having made the class honor roll at some time; ten of these had achieved this in a grade between the first and the sixth grade; four had been in the seventh or eighth grades, and the others had been in the ninth or the eleventh grades.

There were thirty-three children reported as having failed at least one grade. Table 7 summarizes the responses.

Table 7: Grades Failed by Children in the Households Interviewed

Grade(s)	Number of Children
First	4
Second	3
Third	4
Fourth	6
Fifth	1
Sixth	0
Seventh	2
Eighth	2
Ninth	1
First and Second	1
First and Third	1
First and Seventh	1
Fifth and Seventh	2
Seventh and Ninth	1
Third, Fourth and Fifth	1
Unknown Grades	3
Total	33

It appears that many of the children who have difficulty have the difficulty beginning in their early school years. The "reasons" given by the respondents for these reported failures were primarily "wouldn't go", "health problems", and "work was too difficult". A few mentioned that the child had to stay home and care for his brothers and sisters or that the child had trouble when he changed schools.

Over half of the enrolled children at the time of the survey in April, (58%), had been absent from one to ten days of the current school year. The reasons for absenteeism were primarily illness, bad weather, lack of transportation, "wouldn't go", "stayed home to take care of brothers and sisters", and "no shoes or clothes". (This last response was mentioned as the reason why eight children had been frequently absent from school.)

A summary of the education background of the 17 reported "drop-outs" includes the following facts. At least eight of these children are boys, whose age at the time of the survey ranged from 15 years to 19 years. Two of them were brothers who both dropped out after completing the 9th grade. Three others had completed only the ninth grade and the other three completed the tenth grade. Most of the boys dropped out of school in order to work, and in two or three cases are now the primary support of the family.

Another five of the "drop-outs" were girls, three of whom were sisters aged 19, 18 and 15 years at the time of the survey. The other two girls were 19 years old at that time. All five girls had dropped out because of pregnancy. (In fact the three sisters each had two illegitimate children at the time of the survey. They and their children live with their parents and a younger brother. The father of these girls is the only member of the family in the labor force.) Three girls had completed the eleventh grade and the other two had completed the tenth and ninth grades respectively.

The sex of the other four "drop-outs" is unknown. Three of them are siblings and were ten, eight and seven years old, respectively at the time of the survey. They were not enrolled because they had no clothes to wear. (The seven-year-old had never been to school; the others had completed the second and first grades, respectively.) The last drop-out was seventeen years old at the time of the survey and had completed the tenth grade.

Totally, these seventeen "drop outs" came from twelve families. And, among their brothers and sisters there was a prevalence of grades failed and absenteeism. Further, these twelve families represent 19% of the 61 households in the sample that included children of school age, which helps to indicate the magnitude of the problem.

Other questions about education probed the degree of concern of the respondent for his or her child's school performance and his or her awareness of facilities in Atlanta for adults for further education or training.

The question was asked whether any one in the family attended PTA meetings? In the 61 relevant cases, the answer was "no" in 38 instances, "yes, wife" in 20 cases, "yes, grandmother" in two cases and "yes, both parents" in only one case. Few adults attend school events, as well. In the 61 relevant cases, 38 respondents said no one ever attended, 16 said the mother attended plays or programs on occasion, four said "other relatives" (aunt or sister, for example) attended events occasionally, two said the father went to sports events, and one said the children went to sports events and programs at nearby schools. Five mothers were reported as having had participated in some school function - a tea, a carnival, a local trip.

Again, in these 61 households, the wife and mother is reported to help the children with homework in 28 cases, and "other relatives" do so in six cases and the father in six cases. In the rest, no one helps with the children's homework.

We asked all respondents, "Are there any local facilities for further adult education or training that you know about?" The response was "no" in 96(or 70.6%) cases. Among the other 40 respondents, twenty (14.7%) knew of facilities at Washington High School, nine respondents (or 6.6%) knew or said they knew about some "night school", thirteen (or 9.6%) said they knew of facilities at Carver High School, seven (or 5.2%) knew of facilities at Hoke Smith, and the remainder had heard of classes at the YWCA or YMCA. Only one respondent knew of the Manpower Program.

However, despite this "knowledge", only eighteen instances were reported where anyone had considered participating in any of these. In fourteen of these instances the wife or a single female was involved - in such programs as a beauty culture course, practical nursing course, business course or sewing course. The wife taking the sewing course was the only instance of actually having completed it. Of the four husbands "considering" courses, only one instance of completion was reported: one husband had finished his high school education by this route.

In general, these patterns of low achievement in school, "drop-outs", lack of deep concern by parents over the immediate educational problems of their children, etc. are symptoms of problems that are very much related to poverty. The economics of poverty may make "dropping out" necessary, but another aspect of the problem is that, all too often, school attendance and good performance while there do not appear relevant to the lower class Negro child. Their teachers are middle-class persons who often are not properly trained in meeting the needs of the slum child or of relating material to his experiences and outlook. The educational failures of the children are, at base, really the failures of our schools.

The long-run solution is to make the middle-class goal of achievement relevant to the lower class child. That is, we must narrow and hopefully, remove the gap that exists between merely knowing middle-class values, goals, and standards of success, and being able to actually realize them. This, of course, means changing the opportunity structure in society, so that there is equality of opportunity.

HEALTH

> Woman, age about 40: "Then there's the charity hospitals. Unless you can prove you're starving and dying and you're stripped of all pride and self-respect, you can't be helped."
>
> Woman, age 33: "My sister had a nervous breakdown. She was pregnant with her sixth child, needed money, and didn't know the father."

Medical care is totally lacking for the vast majority of residents of "Vine City" unless they can manage to get to the out-clinic of the Grady Memorial Hospital which offers free medical services. Seventy-seven families (56.6%) in the sample get care when needed at Grady Hospital only, and another 23 families (16.9%) use the services at Grady and those at a public health clinic not too far away. There were only 31 respondents (22.8%) that said their family members ever saw a private doctor, and these families, of course, included the more affluent members of the community.

The occasions for seeking medical care are either emergency situations or perhaps for childbirth. "Home remedies" are used for lesser problems. We asked respondents whether pre-natal and/or post-natal care was received by the wife. In the 106 cases where information was obtained, only 49% said both kinds of care was obtained and that was obtained at Grady Hospital, and another 30% said neither pre-natal nor post-natal care was obtained, while the remaining 20% said either pre-natal or post-natal care was obtained. Many people ask why the poor do not take greater advantage of the free public services. The answer is that it really is not free. As one woman put it, "They tell you so many children wouldn't be unhealthy children if they had pre-natal care. But if a mother already has a house full of children, it's too expensive to take a bus to go to the hospital because the fifty cents she spends for bus fare may be the meal for the day."

About two-thirds of the respondents (87 or 64%) said that at least one member of the family had been hospitalized at one time or another. This person was often a woman (in 53 of those cases). However, childbirth was mentioned as the reason for her hospitalization only half of the time. Not only does the woman lack proper pre- and post-natal care, she often lacks professional help when giving birth. Pneumonia, on the other hand, was the reason for hospitalization of members in eleven families. The average length of stay in the hospital was reported as 3.7 weeks. It was interesting that the usual period of hospitalization for childbirth was a week and sometimes longer. Perhaps some of the respondents' memories were poor, but, more likely, the long duration of hospitalization is partly a function of inadequate care during recovery on the "charity hospital" wards.

The people in "Vine City" lack many things, but not disease and illness. We asked respondents whether any member of the family had ever contracted a major disease and 72 (or 52.9%) said "yes", and he or she was referring to more than one person in the family in one-third of these cases. The illnesses and diseases most frequently reported were pneumonia (22 cases and most of these were among children), venereal diseases (9 cases) and then diabetes, heart disease, arthritis, tuberculosis and cancer. There were three cases of epilepsy mentioned by respondents. The people most often afflicted by illness were children (52 cases) and then the wife (28 cases), husbands (17), and parent or parents of one of the spouses (7).

Vaccination against disease was reported in less than two-thirds of the families in the sample (87 or 64%), and those vaccinated against childhood diseases, polio, diptheria or smallpox were largely children (in 71 families) and wives (in 52 families). There were thirty-three respondents who knew that nobody had been vaccinated in their families against any diseases. The vaccinations were almost entirely administered through public services. Only three respondents reported using a private doctor.

We were interested in how often members of the families we interviewed had visited a doctor during the twelve months preceding the survey. One third of the respondents (48 or 35.8%) said no member of the family had seen a doctor during the period, while 56 (or 41.1%) said some one or more members had been to a doctor from one to five times during the period, and the other 31 (or 22.8%) said some one or more members had visited a doctor more than five times during the preceding year. The most frequent patients were women (48 cases) and children (36 cases), while men were reported in only 13 cases.

On the other hand, 107 or (78.7%) of the sample said no member of the family had been to a dentist in the past year. Twenty-one (15.4%) said one visit had been paid and the other 5.9% indicated two or three visits. In the 28 families when visits were made to the dentist, children were by far the most frequently involved: 14 families, with often more than one child. The husband was mentioned nine times, and the wife or other female relative nine times. When asked if anyone had had major dental work, 66 (48.5%) said "yes", meaning, primarily, that someone had his teeth pulled (45 cases), or that someone had obtained false teeth (24 cases).

An attempt was made to measure the prevalence of mental health problems. Some authors have found that among the poor, generally, there are more frequent occurrances of mental illness than among people in other groups in society. Our questions give some insights into this area, but we are not qualified to determine whether the instances of mental and emotional disturbances described constitute mental illness. A summary of what we did find, however, is included here, for those insights.

Few respondents acknowledged any mental disturbances among members of the family, although a few said they were "undecided". Eighteen respondents (13.2%) said someone in the family had experienced a "nervous breakdown". Of these eighteen cases, seven persons had sought professional help. Thirteen of the people were women and five were men. Five of the eighteen persons had been committed to the psychiatric ward of a hospital for periods ranging from two weeks to eight months (only one of these people had gone to a private hospital). Only two cases were reported of persons having been committed to a (county) mental institution. Some of the circumstances surrounding the cases were reported as:

1. a male - "Right after getting out of service. It seems nothing was going right; no job, no money." Treated by psychiatrist or psychologist and spent six weeks in a V.A. Hospital.
2. a brother - unknown circumstances; committed to a county mental institution.
3. a young, unmarried mother - when her two-year old child was killed by a car; she visited a psychiatrist or psychologist.
4. a woman -when deserted by husband, she was with child, and ill; she also sought professional help.
5. a brother - "He was an alcoholic." Evidentally not treated.
6. a husband - "He was just a sickly man." Not treated.
7. a son - when his wife and daughter died at the same time. Not treated.
8. a wife - "Can't remember." She was committed for eight months to a county hospital.
9. a wife - Saw psychiatrist about a "bad nervous condition". Spent nine to ten weeks at a county hospital.
10. a mother-"Had a nervous breakdown due to hard times during the depression. Treated, spent three months in a county hospital and was committed to a county mental institution.
11. a sister-"She was worrying over her husband." Treated and spent two weeks in a private hospital psychiatric ward.
12. a wife - "at time of kidney ailment." Not treated.
13. a sister-"at time of daughter's death." Not treated.

One major area which we failed to explore in this whole matter of health was the patterns of diet of the people in the community. We suspect, from observation, that serious deficiencies prevail in diets of children, particularly.

To sum up, medical and dental care is sorely neglected by the typical resident of "Vine City"; and viewed as kinds of luxuries. When he must get medical care he turns to public or "charity" facilities, but, often he would rather try to mend himself than to sit and wait in a long hallway at Grady Hospital, where he feels guilt and shame about his dependency,as well as desperate for help.

BUDGET AND SPENDING PATTERNS

Woman, age 33, about being cheated: "Well, I complained to myself."

Woman, age 59, about instalment buying: "A good idea - I feel more like a citizen."

Woman, age 45, about indebtedness: "Yes, (I borrowed money) to go to my mother's funeral."

The major way that the people in "Vine City" pay for their housing, which takes a substantial proportion of their income, is to deprive themselves and their families in other areas of the budget. Most families regularly spend nothing each month for household items, recreation and entertainment, and medical care, and many people spend nothing for clothing for the family. Yet most of the people have a few major durable goods.

It is often said that the poor are very irrational consumers, that they have "flashy" clothes and cars, and that they fill their shack or apartment with new appliances. They go into debt for these things and then have great difficulty meeting their financial obligations. As a consequence of these patterns, it is said, they cannot meet basic material needs and, becoming desperate, turn to public assistance, which they rely upon thereafter.

However, this description of the spending patterns of the poor is misleading and distorted, if not wrong. What is the case?

Let's take a look into the homes of the 136 families surveyed in "Vine City". We are likely to find the following appliances: a television set, radio, iron, stove and regrigerator. In a few cases we would be shown, proudly, a phonograph, or toaster, or washing machine. Table 8 summarizes our findings.

Table 8: Major Appliances Possessed

Appliance	N	%	Appliance	N	%
Iron	118	86.7	Washing Machine	53	38.7
Stove	118	86.7	Wringer 35		
Regrigerator	113	83.1	Automatic18		
Radio	110	80.9	Toaster	21	15.4
Television Set	107	78.7	Phonograph	21	15.4
			Stereo Set	21	15.4

We can make some observations about these statistics. First, it looks like "almost everyone" has an iron, stove, refrigerator, radio and television set. In actual fact, we found that only 60 families (44.8%) had all five of these appliances. "Almost everyone" (75.7%) had both an iron and a stove, but that was the most frequent combination found. Secondly, notice the number of families without an iron or stove or refrigerator. One interviewer reported being (pleasantly) distracted during one interview session by the aroma of bread being cooked on a hot plate. Thirdly, there were some families with a toaster, or phonograph or stereo set, but these were owned by the more affluent in the community who also possessed four or five of the already-mentioned appliances. Totally, the number of appliances per family ranged from none at all (one case) to ten (four cases), and the average number was 5.2 per family.

The television set is a very important appliance in the families that have one. It is used as a kind of "built-in sitter" for the younger children, and, watching television is the major form of entertainment for many families in "Vine City". All in all, buying a television set is probably a very rational expenditure, judging from the amount of satisfaction derived from owning one. A problem arises because of the limited ways of financing its purchase. The people have no savings, and they are seldom able to borrow where interest charges are reasonable. Thus, the cost of the television set is made exorbitant through various forms of financing ($1 down, $1 a week, for example) by the appliance dealer. These exploitative forms of credit, are, of course possible and profitable because of the immobility of the consumer, who finds this the only source of funds, and because of his inelastic demand for the items.

The inelasticity of demand is borne out not only with respect to price - the appliance is bought "no matter what the price", but also with respect to income. Thus, we found no significant relationship between the level of income and whether or not the family had a television set - it is bought, regardless of level of income, except at the very lowest levels.

It should be pointed out that many families buy their appliances as well as other goods as "used". We found that 31% of the reported television sets had been purchased "used". Also, most of the television sets we found were not the latest models; the median age of the sets was four to five years, and one-third of them were six years old or more. Less than one-fifth of the sets were one year old or less. (In general, all of the appliances we found were relatively old. One half of all the washing machines were over five years old, for example.)

It would be an error to conclude the poor are irrational consumers because there is a television antenna perched on a roof that looks like it can not support it. Television is a cheap form of entertainment; the problem is the lack of alternatives in the forms of financing this consumption item, not in this form of consumption.

Our generalizations concerning appliances apply, in part, to the possession of automobiles, with one major difference. Relatively few families (23.5% in our sample) have automobiles in "Vine City". Most of the 32 automobiles we found were over five years old at the time of the survey (22 of them); in fact, eight of them (25%) were ten years old or older. Further, two-thirds of all the automobiles had been bought used. We can only conclude that the notion that poor Negroes are "flashy" spenders is a gross exaggeration and distortion of reality, used to excuse a lack of concern for and understanding of the plight of the Negro poor.

On the whole we found most families made serious attempts, within their limited possibilities to buy the best for the least. That is, price is the feature considered most when appliances, clothes and household items are purchased. Being relatively unsophisticated concerning the real interest charges they may be asked to pay, they make errors, of course, in thinking something is inexpensive when it isn't. But they act rationally insofar as they attempt to find the lowest price among the alternative prices, all of which are high.

Women are largely responsible for making the purchases (in 79% of the fa families interviewed), although she is accompanied by her husband in some families (n = 46). Further, she is responsible for paying the bills in most cases (in about 55% of the sample). Most purchases are made at nearby retail or "discount" stores which sell used merchandise. Appliances, for example, are reportedly purchased in about 31% of the families at discount stores. About the same proportion of families buy their furniture and household items there, too.

Groceries, on the other hand, are most frequently bought at small neighborhood stores (107 or 78.7% of sample), but a number of respondents (22 or 16.2%) take a bus downtown and do their grocery shopping at a large "cut-price" department store, much frequented by residents of "Vine City" for purchases of household items, as well as groceries. Then peddlars sell food in the community and thirteen respondents (9.6%) said they bought mostly from them.

It is often said that poor families shop for food daily, and for various reasons - inadequate storage and refrigeration space, "poor planning", lack of transportation, and inability to leave small children alone. All of these factors necessitate the use of the services of small, local stores, and, of course, explain the inelasticity of demand for the products sold by these local stores. With respect to "Vine City", where a bus runs down Magnolia Street, this does not apply strongly. Sixty-four respondents (47%) said they shop once a week, and only nine respondents (6.6%) shop daily, while eleven respondents (8.1%) shop from two to five times a week, and 25 respondents (18.4%) shop once or twice a month. Some of the (older) respondents receive surplus food and shop very infrequently.

We related the frequency with which the family bought food to the size of the household, expecting to find that in the larger households, for various reasons, groceries would be bought more frequently than in smaller households. The mean household sizes ranged from 5.5 persons for those that went to the food store two to five times a week, to 3.4 persons for those who shopped twice a month, but no definite pattern emerged. For example, the mean household was 4.3 and 4.5 persons for those who shopped once a week and once a month, respectively. Testing revealed no significant differences between the mean size of households in the various categories of shopping frequency. How often one buys food is dependent more on the availability of cash or credit, and not so much on the number of persons to feed.

The next table on page 21 shows the reported amounts of money spent each month by the families surveyed on various categories of purchases.

We related the amount spent on food per month to the level of family income in 1964 and found a direct relationship. The lower the income level, the less spent on food. Half of the people with less than $2,100 income spent from $20-29 or less on groceries per month, whereas those at income levels over $2,500 spent, most often, $40-49 per month. Testing found that these attributes were related significantly at the .01 level.

Table 9: Monthly Expenditures of Household on Major Items

Item	$0		$1-9		$10-19		$20-29		$30-39		$40-49		$50-59		$60-69		over $70		Unk	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Groceries (n = 136)	1	.7	3	2.2	13	9.6	24	17.6	19	14.0	24	17.6	7	5.2	11	8.1	11	8.1	23	16.9
Clothing (n = 136)	58	42.6	12	8.8	15	11.0	18	13.2	6	4.4	2	1.5	3	2.2	2	1.5	-	-	20	14.7
Rent (n = 108)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	30.5	41	38.0	10	9.2	17	15.7	-	-	7	6.4
Mortgage (n = 12)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8.5	1	8.5	2	17.0	1	8.5	2	17.0	-	-	4	33.3
Medical Care (n = 136)	108	79.4	14	10.3	3	2.2	3	2.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	5.8
Household Items (n = 136)	79	58.1	28	20.6	7	5.2	2	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	14.7
Recreation and Entertainment (n = 136)	73	53.7	16	11.8	14	10.2	-	-	1	.7	1	.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	22.8
Savings (n = 136)	107	78.7	6	4.4	8	5.9	7	5.1	-	-	-	-	1	.7	-	-	-	-	7	5.2

We expected to find that the amount spent per month for groceries would be directly related to the size of the household. The mean household size varied from 3.0 persons where $1-9 or $10-19 were spent on food per month to 6.1 persons where $50-59 was spent on food per month. However, even these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. Some of the larger families receive surplus food and help to explain this result.

With respect to rent, again, we found a direct relationship between the amount of rent paid and the level of family income reported for 1964. The lower the income, the lower the rent paid by the family, generally. Families with less than $2,100 income paid from $30-39 rent per month more frequently than would have occurred if there was no relationship, for example. Testing found that those attributes were related at the .05 level of significance.

In order to more objectively measure the nature and extent of buying on credit, we asked a series of question of the respondent concerning his patterns of instalment buying, borrowing, and indebtedness during the period, 1960-1964. Buying on credit was common during the period. Eighty-one respondents (59.5%) said that they often buy on credit or use instalment plans. The items most frequently purchased this way are appliances, particularly television sets, followed by furniture, clothes, and automobiles. In addition, eight respondents had borrowed money in order to buy groceries, and fifteen respondents said they had borrowed in order "to pay bills", including medical bills and the rent. There were a couple of instances reported of borrowing to pay moving expenses and in order to meet funeral expenses. There were three instances of borrowing which fall, perhaps, into the category of extravagant spending: money was borrowed to buy a mink stole, a set of wedding rings, and Christmas gifts.

Sixty per cent of our respondents thought instalment buying was a good idea primarily because it enables a family or person "to get more things now", or "to make ends meet". On the other hand, many respondents (36%) were wary of instalment buying as "too risky", or "you can't get ahead that way", or "you pay more that way".

The level of education of the respondent did not seem to be a strong factor in determining these views on the value of instalment buying. The mean education of those (n=81) who thought instalment buying a good idea was 8.0 grades and the mean education of those who did not agree (n=49) was 7.9 grades. Testing revealed no significant differences between the means. Nor were these views on instalment buying related to the age of the respondent. The average age of those who thought it was a good idea was the same as that of those who did not approve of instalment buying.

The persons reporting income levels below $2,100 in 1964 were more likely to think instalment buying is a good idea because it enables one "to make ends meet", while those with incomes over $2,500 were more likely to think it a good idea in order "to get more things now". However, the differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. A few more cases where the husband was reported as head of the house also reported that they often bought on credit, while where the wife was the head of the house there were fewer such instances reported than expected. However, testing, again, failed to find that the differences reached the .05 level of significance.

At the time of the survey, 55% of the respondents were in debt, a long way from "everybody". Another 23.5% were not in debt and had never borrowed, while the rest were not in debt but had borrowed at some time. The people in debt owed money most frequently to a department, furniture, or grocery store, - or, to a finance company. Only six persons said they owed a bank. We were unable to test to see if the people who were in debt were primarily in the lowest income brackets, because there were a number of people who reportedly "didn't know" their income in 1964. Again, we attempted, but failed, to determine whether the people who were in debt were primarily wage earners or on welfare or on pensions. There were too few people who reported non-wage income to make up adequate groups for testing. All we could determine was that there was no significant relationship between the sources of wage income (one job versus more than one job) and current indebtedness.

Most people are hard-pressed to meet their financial obligations as indicated by the figures on repossession of goods and eviction from housing. Seventeen (12.5%) respondents said they had had goods repossessed at some time or another and referred usually, to an appliance or furniture, although three said their car had been repossessed. Eviction occurs fairly regularly among the residents of "Vine City", too. Eighteen respondents (13.2%) said they had at some time been evicted from their home for not meeting the rent.

In addition to the fact that the prices paid by the poor are higher - their dollar buys less in amount, the quality of much of what they buy is poor - their dollar buys less in quality. And the feeling of being exploited is common among the residents of the community. We asked the question: "Do you ever feel that you have been cheated?" In reply 35 respondents (25.7%) said "yes". Some of the circumstances concerned buying clothes and shoes, (9 cases), where the clothes shrank or the shoes had been worn, while other cases (6) involved the purchases of a faulty television set, radio, rug or tires. Three respondents felt the rent was too high and four felt cheated on groceries, saying the prices were too high in the neighborhood stores and the quality poor. Sometimes spoiled meat was sold, "doctored up" to look good, at least until the buyer arrived home. One gentleman felt cheated because he buys on credit and he feels he is exploited by the merchants, while another respondent felt cheated because she could not get credit. In one case a respondent "paid down" on an appliance, only to have the store move from its location, and he couldn't get his money back.

We asked those who felt cheated what they did about it. Most of them (18) did nothing except "complain to myself". One respondent said he reported the situation to the Better Business Bureau, while three people returned the item. Another complained and then merely stopped payments and allowed the good to be repossessed. The others said that they had tried to return the item, but that it was not acceptable to the merchant.

Relatively few families allocate their income according to some budget or try to plan their spending (only 25% of our sample said they tried to plan their spending). Most try to spend so as to meet their daily and weekly obligations; that is, the immediate period is the one of concern. This is to be expected, of course, where a subsistance level of income is barely maintained. It is difficult to worry about next month or next year when one is not sure of the next meal. The 34 respondents who said they tried to budget their spending fell slightly more frequently into the income levels over $2,500, but not significantly so.

A very small minority of respondents (about 8%) had checking accounts or savings accounts(9.6%), and investments were nil, except for the few families which own their own homes. We found 29 respondents who reported they saved regularly or tried to. We related this information to family income level in 1964 to see if saving was directly related to income. However, we found no pattern. There were ten "savers" in the income group of $2,100 or less, seven "savers" who "didn't know" their income; and twelve "savers" with incomes over $2,500. Only in the latter group was the number, twelve respondents, greater than would have occurred randomly (7.8), and the differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

One form of saving which is very widespread among the residents of "Vine City" is the possession of insurance policies, particularly life insurance. Two-thirds of the families in our sample (92) had at least one life insurance policy and 59 (43.4%) of the families had some form of sickness and accident insurance. There were 38 respondents (27.9%) who said their families had no insurance of any kind.

This information is summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: Insurance

Kind of Policy	N	%
No Insurance	38	27.9
Life Insurance		
one policy	37	27.2
two policies	2	1.5
Sickness and Accident Insurance		
one policy	6	4.4
Life and Sickness and Accident		
one policy, each	17	12.5
one combined policy	18	13.2
two or three combined policies	6	4.4
other combinations	12	8.8
Total	136	99.9

Life insurance policies ranged in value, in the 64 cases reported, from $50 to $10,000, but most of them were valued at $1,000 (26 cases) or $500 (11 cases). Very few families had policies valued at more than $1,000. Sometimes the policies were written, simply as an amount "enough to bury".

Generally, the people have life insurance policies in order to assure a proper funeral for the members of the family. Funerals are one of the more important kinds of social events in the community. It is considered a sign of disrespect toward the deceased person and his family not to attend his funeral. And, being able to provide an elaborate funeral is a mark of status. Thus, we were not surprised to find that the possession of life insurance policies was not dependent on level of family income. The policies, although a form of savings, economically, are purchased for non-economic reasons and do not vary with level of income, as one ordinarily expects savings to do. We were also not surprised to find no significant relationship between the amounts of premiums paid monthly on the insurance policies and the level of family income. A few more people with income less than $2,100 in 1964 did not have insurance policies (and therefore no premium payments), but there were no distinguishable differences among the income groups and the amount of premium paid.

Sickness and accident insurance policies predominantly covered hospital bills. They were usually written so that they would pay some amount, for example, $7.50 per week, to the beneficiary, under specified circumstances.

Most persons pay their insurance premium on a weekly basis (in 73 out of the 98 families with insurance policies). Generally the sums are paid to a collector who comes to the house to collect the amount due. The reported amounts of premiums paid on these insurance policies raise more questions than they answer. The amount of premiums paid ranged from twenty cents a week on some policies (25¢ and 30¢ per week were frequently reported) to $6.22 per week on others. The amount paid per week on one policy was frequently $2.06, $3.14, or $4.06. One respondent had three policies, one with Coastal States Insurance Company, in value $1,000; one with the Independent Life Insurance Company, in value "more than $1,000"; and one with the Life of Georgia Insurance Company, in value "more than $1,000", and paid $4.06, $3.54, and $2.94 per week, respectively, on these policies. Parenthetically, the insurance companies most frequently represented were Independent Life and Life of Georgia.

The following table summarizes the total monthly premiums paid on insurance policies by the families interviewed.

Table 11: Amount of Monthly Insurance Premiums

Amount	N
$1-5	20
$5-10	21
$10-15	10
$15-20	8
$20-25	5
over $25	5
don't know	29
not relevant	38
Total	136

There were 38 respondents who said they had at some time collected on their insurance. Most of the circumstances were sick claims, and five women collected a few dollars a week at the time of childbirth. There were seven persons who collected at the death of some member of the family. Finally, two persons reported cashing in the policy when they needed money.

"They needed money." In summary of this section perhaps these three words would describe all of the families we talked with. However, it is too superficial. Behind the shortage of funds lies the real problem , - that of being economically dependent. The people are dependent on merchants for credit for material goods, and on public facilities for services. There is no cushion, given their low and unstable income, that allows them any scope for individual action. The basic needs eat up more income than they have, and the few frills of life (like the television set) may not ever totally be theirs. The poor person is trained by our society to want the "good things" in life, and at the same time he lacks the means to get them. The end result is a feeble attempt to "live good" and plan, if not for next year, for one's funeral.

INCOME

Male, age 41: "I don't keep track of earnings."

Some readers might wonder why this section on income is not at the beginning of this report, since to be poor means to have a family income lower than some specified level. However, we would disagree. To be poor means a great deal more than to have a low income. There are people in this country with very low incomes who do not fit into the category of the poverty-stricken. And "getting more money" is not enough to remove a poor person from this category. Low income is, of course, one aspect of the problem of being poor, but not the only aspect nor the most crucial aspect.

The residents of "Vine City" have family incomes that fall well below the "poverty level" often discussed of $3,000 a year. One half of our total sample (69 or 50.7%) indicated incomes in 1964 of $3,000 or less, and there were a number of respondents who did not know their incomes who clearly had incomes below $3,000, judging from the patterns of employment of the members of their families. Further the median income for those who reported was between $2,000 and $2,100 in both 1963 and 1964.

The following table shows the number of households in the sample in various income groups for the two years, 1964 and 1963. As shown, there were many people (52 or 38.2% for 1964, and 57 or 41.9% for 1963) who did not know, or remember, or care to say, what their incomes were.

Table 12: Family Income in 1964 and 1963

	1964		1963	
Income	N	%	N	%
$0-500	5	3.6	5	3.6
500-1,000	16	11.8	17	12.5
1,100-1,500	10	7.4	10	7.4
1,600-2,000	15	11.0	12	8.8
2,100-2,500	7	5.2	8	5.9
2,600-3,000	16	11.8	10	7.4
3,100-4,000	4	2.9	6	4.4
4,100-5,000	4	2.9	4	2.9
5,100 and over	7	5.2	7	5.2
Unknown and "don't know"	52	38.2	57	41.9
	136	100.0	136	100.0

The family incomes reported by each respondent for the two years 1964 and 1963 were compared to see if there was any recognizable pattern of change. Again, there was a sizable group of "unknowns" (59), but among the 77 families which gave information, about one-half indicated no income change between the two years, and more than one-third had increased incomes in 1964, at least by a small amount. Only about 15% of the families interviewed suffered income reductions. The shift was definitely upward, as shown in table 13.

Table 13: Change in Family Income
in 1964 over 1963

Amount	N	%
+ ($1,000 or more)	7	9.1
+ ($500-999)	9	11.7
+ ($1-499)	12	15.5
0	37	48.1
- ($1-499)	2	2.6
- ($500-999)	1	1.3
- ($1,000-$3,000) /	9	11.7
Total Reporting	77	100.0

A summary of the major sources of family income at the time of the survey is shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Major Source of Family Income

	N	%
Wages, one job		
husband	25	18.4
wife or single female	11	8.1
husband and wife	10	7.4
Wages, more than one job one or more persons	22	16.2
Welfare	10	7.4
Pensions	12	8.8
Wages plus rental income	10	7.4
Wages plus welfare	8	5.9
Wages plus pension	14	10.3
Wages, rent and welfare	3	2.2
Wages plus unemployment benefits	3	2.2
Pensions and rent or welfare	6	4.4
Unknown	2	1.3
Total	136	100.0

Thus, from the table, wages were the sole source of income for one-half of our respondents (68). Wage income was a major part of the income of another 38 families (27.9%) and welfare funds or pensions were the main source of income for 28 families (20.6%).

It is apparent then that the vast majority of families sampled rely on wage earners for income and not on public aid. Those persons receiving pension income were older, retired persons. There were fewer families who relied solely on welfare funds than we anticipated.

Again, in many cases where wages are the main income, the wages are brought home by more than one person or by one person working on more than one job. We wondered if the major source of family income varied in accordance with whether the head of household was the husband or the wife. Our testing of this relationship, however, failed, since the only sources of income that occurred frequently enough for testing was wage income, from one job versus more than one job. In relating wage income to head of household information, we found no significant relationship. Where the wife was the head of the house, a few more families than expected relied on wages from more than one job. Where the husband was the head of household, a few more families than expected relied on wages from one job, but these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

We related sources of income to length of residency in the present home, and found that those persons living primarily on pensions (n = 18) had lived in their home the longest time, on the average 15.5 years; while those "on welfare" had about the shortest length of residency, a mean of 5.5 years. Those whose primary source of income was wages from one job had a mean length of residency of 6.3 years. However, testing failed to reveal any significant differences among these mean values.

Further, in this area, we related the major sources of income to the number of times the family had moved in the past five years to obtain a more complete picture of the interaction between residential stability and income sources. Again we found that those families living on pensions had moved the least frequently, a mean of .17 times, while those on welfare had moved the most frequently, an average of 2.5 times in the period. Families relying on wages from jobs were relatively stable, having moved, on the average, .94 times. There were ten families whose major source of income was a combination of wages and rental income (usually from non-relatives) and they had moved, on the average, 3.2 times during the five-year period, 1960-1964. Testing revealed that these differences in the mean number of times moved were significant at the .01 level.

We wondered if family income levels varied according to who was the primary support in the family. Relating the income data for each of the two years, 1964 and 1963, to the identity of the primary support, husband versus wife, we found no significant relationship. In fact, what differences we found in the data for 1963 and 1964 were the opposite from what we expected. We expected, given the greater stability over the year for female Negro employment that income levels in families where the wife was the primary support would tend to be higher. This expectation was not borne out. There were fewer families in the "over $2,500" bracket where the wife was the primary support than would have randomly occurred, and the reverse was true where the husband was reported as the primary support. However, the differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. The pattern that is suggested here, however, is that although female employment may be more stable, it pays so little that the income level remains very low, and, that although male employment may be more unstable, when he does work, he is able to get better wages than a woman.

A significant relationship was found between the identity of the head of household and family income in 1964 and 1963, that tend to support the foregoing evidence. Income levels in 1964 tended to be higher than expected in households headed by husbands than in those hedded by wives. The differences found were significant at the .05 level for 1964 income data, and for 1963 income data, significant at the .01 level.

There was no definite pattern between income levels and the size of the family, as indicated by Table 15. Testing failed to reveal any significant differences in the mean family size of the various income groups.

Table 15: Income in 1964 by Size of Household

Family Income 1964	Mean Family Size
Less than $500	5.0
$500-1,000	3.8
1,100-1,500	4.9
1,600-2,000	4.5
2,100-2,500	6.4
2,600-3,000	5.3
3,100-4,000	3.0
4,100-5,000	4.5
5,100 and over	6.4
"don't know"	4.2

Respondents were asked if the family income had changed much over the five year period, 1960-1964; and, while 57 (or 41.9%) said "no", income had increased in 42 cases (or 30.9%) and had decreased in 29 cases (or 21.3%) over this period. One respondent just said "it's gone up and down."

The reasons given for the changes in income over that five year period were as follows:

Table 16: Reasons for Changes in Income, 1960-1964

Increases in Income	Number of Households	Decreases in Income	Number of Househol
Additional workers	17	Fewer workers	17
Job change of primary support	18	Job change	10
Change in welfare status	10	Change in welfare status	6
Wage raises	22	Wage cuts	4
Additional jobs taken on	10	Long-term unemployment	9
Rent from roomers or relatives	2	Total	46
Total	79		

The level of family income in 1964 was related to how stable the family income was reported to have been over the period 1960-1964. Notice the breakdown in the following table.

Table 17: Income Changes, 1960-1964

Family Income, 1964	Increased	Decreased	No Change	Total
$200-$2,100	15	6	24	45
$2,500 and over	19	8	11	38
"don't know"	8	15	22	45
Total	42	29	57	128

These figures proved significant as follows. More families with incomes below $2,100 in 1964 fell into the "no change in income" category than expected, while more families with incomes over $2,500 fell into the "increased income" category than expected, while fewer than expected reported "no change". Among the "don't knows" with respect to income in 1964, more families (15) said income had decreased than expected. The differences found were significant at the .01 level.

It seems, on the whole, that the families with the lowest incomes had experienced these low incomes over several years, at least, while those with higher incomes had only more recently experienced income improvements.

Further, we found that those families that had experienced increases in income were primarily from households where there was more than one wage-earner or where wage income was received from more than one job. In those families relying on one wage earner with one job, income was reported as having not changed over the five year period far more often than expected. These attributes were found to be significantly related at the .01 level. Thus, income improvements during the 1960's have been due in large part to the contributions from more than one source of wage income, and also on other sources of income, like rent from roomers,an not to improvements in wage rates.

Where income was reported to have increased over the five year period, fewer instances were recorded of the family's primary support having been out of the labor force at any time during the period than expected. And, on the other hand, more instances were recorded of the primary support having been out of the labor force at some time during the period in those instances of decreased income than expected. However these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

In summary, family incomes in "Vine City" are often at the subsistence level and well below the "poverty level". Wage income is the most common source of income, and often, more than one person is working in order that the family can maintain a subsistence level. Some small improvements have been made by some families in recent years as children have entered the ranks of the employed or more jobs have been taken on by the primary support. As we turn now to the patterns of employment, we shall explore in more detail the regularity with which income is earned, who earns it, and the occupations that prevail; that is, how income is earned.

EMPLOYMENT

> Woman, age 62, (lives alone): "I'm a part-time day worker (domestic). The 'boss lady' gives me food and clothes.....earn about $300 a year."

The literature abounds with reports of high unemployment rates among Negroes, and the national statistic is that the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice as high as for whites, and rising. In "Vine City" there is a large amount of unemployment, but it is not easy to measure. A better term, perhaps is "underemployment", as we found a prevalence of irregular employment, especially among the males in the community. Also, many people who are counted technically as "out of the labor force" and are standing on the corners, are really unemployed and are waiting to be called back to a job, or, they have given up in their search for work.

We asked our respondents a series of questions concerning the employment picture for their respective families. We tried to find out who and how many members of the family were actually working, unemployed, and out of the labor force.

First with respect to the employed persons, we found that no one was working in 30 families (22.1%) at the time of the survey (early April, 1965). In about one-half of the families (64 or 47.0%) one person was working, and in 29 (or 21.3%) households there were two people employed at the time. In the remaining thirteen households (9.6%) there were three, four, or five people working. The average number of employed persons, then, was 1.23 per household, for the total sample of 136 households. Further, we found only a fair correlation ($r = .30$) between the number of people reported as working and the size of the household.

The age distribution of the 168 persons we found working is shown in Table 18.

Table 18: Ages of Employed Persons

Age group	N	% of employed
under 18	1	.6
18-29	53	31.6
30-39	50	29.8
40-49	30	17.8
50-64	30	17.8
65 and over	4	2.3
	168	100.0

The figure of 167 workers 18 or over account for just 50% of the total number of adults in our sample. The figures indicate less than two-thirds of those employed were younger than 40 years of age (62%). There were twenty-eight households (out of the 106 in which we found workers) in which the employed members fell into more than one of these age groups; twenty of these included at least one worker between the ages of 18 and 29; and in eight of these, at least one worker was between the ages of 50 and 64.

We related the ages of the persons employed to the structure of the family and found that in families consisting of only the husband and wife, the employed persons fell almost totally in the age groups 30-39 and 40-49, while in the families consisting of husband and wife and children, the employed persons fell into more than one age group much more often than expected. In those families with no husband present there was nobody working more often than expected and the members lived on welfare or pensions. And, where the thirteen households were made up of miscellaneous adults and children, twelve of them reported nobody was working. Testing found that these differences were significantly related at the .01 level.

Table 19 shows the identity of the employed persons in the households.

Table 19: Identity of Employed Persons

Identity	N	%
Husband only	34	25.0
Wife only	23	16.9
Husband and wife	15	11.0
Husband and wife and children (or other adults)	6	4.4
Husband and children (or others)	6	4.4
Wife and children	5	3.7
Miscellaneous female adults	8	5.9
Children	5	3.7
Roomers	4	2.9
Not Relevant	30	22.1
	136	100.0

In those thirty-four households where only the husband was working, he most often worked at one full-time job (in 24 cases), although in four cases he worked at one part-time job, in another four cases he worked at a full-time and a part-time job, and in one case he held more than one part-time job. Again, in the twenty-three households where only the wife was working, she worked at one full-time job in thirteen cases, at a part-time job in five cases, at more than one part-time job in three cases, and at more than one full-time job in two cases. In eight of the fifteen households where both the husband and wife were working, each held a full-time job. In the other seven households they had a combination of part-time and full-time employment, although four of the wives and four of the husbands were working full-time. In the remaining thirty-four households where numerous combinations of employed persons existed, there was a total of twenty-seven women employed full-time, twenty-two men employed full-time, eighteen women employed part-time and eight males employed part-time.

Altogether, the 168 employed persons included 83 women and 78 men, that we could determine. Most of the males were working on full-time jobs (62), as were most of the women (54). But, part-time work is very common, as these figures show. At least 45 of the 168 employed persons (39%) were working part-time.

We related the employed persons (grouped by age) to the size of the family to see if there was any relationship; that is, were the younger workers more frequently to be found in larger households? We found that the mean family size varied from 2.9 persons for those employed persons aged over 50, and 3.0 persons in those families where no one was working, to a mean family size of 5.6 persons for those in the age group 30-39, and 5.0 persons in the age group 18-29. There were 28 families in which the employed persons fell into more than one age group, and, as expected, the mean family size of that group was the highest, 6.4 members. Testing revealed that these differences in the mean family size were significant at the .01 level. Thus, the younger workers came from larger families, on the average, than the older workers; and, where no one was working, the family was small.

Secondly, we inquired about the unemployed members of the household, as defined as people not working but looking for work. We found relatively few unemployed persons in this technical sense. Fourteen respondents reported one person and four others reported two people in their families as unemployed. Thus, a total of 22 people were reported as unemployed. Eight of these people were between the ages of 18-29, seven were between 30-39 years old, five were between 50-64 years old, and two were under 18 years of age. Only two of these unemployed persons were on a "lay-off" at the time of the survey.

Table 20 shows the identity of the unemployed persons. Notice that fourteen of the total were women.

Table 20: Identity of Unemployed Persons

Identity	N
Wife or single female	7
Husband	3
Brother and roomer	2
Two nieces	2
Husband and daughter	2
Son	2
Wife and grandparent	2
Wife's sister	1
Daughter	1
	22

Thirdly, we accounted for the rest of the members of the family in the response to the question: "How many members of the family were not working last week, and were not looking for work?" Only twelve respondents (8.8%) reported nobody in the family was out of the labor force. Among the rest, the pattern was as shown in Table 21. The average number of persons out of the labor force, for the total sample, was 3.17 per family, which would include, on the average, all of the children (2.1 per family) and one adult. These averages are misleading, however, since there were 56 households in the sample which included no children under 18 years of age.

Table 21: Number of Persons in the Household Out of the Labor Force

Number of Persons	N	%
No persons	12	8.8
One person	29	21.3
Two persons	29	21.3
Three persons	19	14.0
Four persons	15	11.0
Five persons	10	7.4
Six - thirteen persons	21	15.4
Unknown	1	.8
	136	100.0

Thus, we found a total of 429 people out of the labor force among our sample, which, you may recall, included a total number of persons of 624; 337 of the total were 18 years of age and over, and 287 were children under 18 years of age. One expects that most of the children would be out of the labor force. If they all were, it would leave 142 adults reportedly out of the labor force. Some of these are over 65 years of age, but, at least 93 are of working age (between the ages of 18 and 64), as shown by the distribution among the households in Table 22.

Table 22: Age of Persons Out of the Labor Force

Age Groups	No. of Households Including Persons Out of Labor Force	% of Hshlds.
Under 18	78	57.3
18-29 years	25	18.4
30-39 years	17	12.5
40-49 years	17	12.5
50-64 years	34	25.0
65 and over	31	22.8

The table indicates that two-thirds of the households (93 or 68.4%) include people of working age who are out of the labor force. Many of these adults are wives, of course. A specific summary of the identity of the persons out of the labor force is shown in Table 23, again, by households. Husbands are included in 17 households, wives are included in 60 households, and children are included in 67 of the households surveyed.

We related the ages of the persons out of the labor force to the size of the family and found a distinct pattern. Where the persons reported to be out of the labor force were over 50 years of age, the average family size was significantly smaller than where the persons out of the labor force were younger. Testing found the mean differences to be significant at the .01 level. Further, the total number of people reported as out of the labor force was very closely correlated with the size of the household (r = .92).

Table 23: Identity of Persons Out of Labor Force

Member of Family	No. of Hshlds.	Member of Family	No. of Hshlds.
Husband or male respondent	4	Children and wife	23
Husband and wife	6	Children, husband & wife	3
Husband and misc. adults	4	Children, wife & grandparent	3
Wife	19	Children, aunt &/or uncle	4
Children or grandchildren	26	Children, wife & misc. adults	3
Children and grandchildren	4	Wife and misc. adults	3
Children and grandparent	11	Misc. adult women	4

In order to determine the nature of the employment, of occupational mobility, and of job stability, we asked a lengthy series of questions concerning the person in each family identified as the primary support of that family. We discovered that the primary support was the husband (or single male respondent) only 54.4% of the time (in 74 households). The wife (or single female respondent) was named as such in 38.2% of the households (52), while the other 7.4% of the households (10) named a son or daughter or some other relative as the primary support.

Where the husband or male respondent was identified as the primary support, he worked for wages in all but eleven of the 72 households. The remaining eleven earned pensions of various kinds. Where the wife or female respondent was the primary support, again, she worked for wages in 33 cases (63%), and in the other 19 households (37%) she supported the family with funds received from welfare programs or a pension or rental income from roomers.

Those persons identified as the primary support of the family were distributed by age as shown in Table 24; and, a breakdown by identity is shown in Table 25.

Table 24: Age of Primary Support of Family

Age Group	N	%
18-29 years	24	17.7
30-39 years	36	26.5
40-49 years	25	18.4
50-64 years	32	23.5
65 and over	18	13.2
unknown	1	.7
	136	100.0

Table 25: Age of Husband and Wife Identified as Primary Support

	Age Groups				Total
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	
Husband	11	24	11	15	61
Wife	5	8	8	12	33
Total:	16	32	19	27	94

More women were in the age groups 40-49 and 50-64 than expected, and fewer husbands were in those age groups than statistically expected, but the differences did not reach the .05 level of significance.

Further, the age of the primary support was somewhat related to the level of family income in 1964. In particular, in those families with less than $2,100 income, there were many more cases where the primary support was over 50 years old than expected, explained by the fact that the older persons earned mostly small pensions or other irregular assistance from relatives. Testing revealed these differences to be significantly related at the .05 level.

Only 70% of those persons called the primary support were working at the time of the survey, as indicated by the responses to the question: "Was he or she (the primary support) working last week?" Those who were not working were mostly older people, out of the labor force, whose family lived on old age pensions or welfare assistance. Table 26 summarizes the responses.

Table 26: Current Employment Status of Primary Support

	N		%	
Working				
full-time, on one job	68		50.0	
part-time, one job	10		7.4	
full-time, more than one job	12		8.8	
part-time, more than one job	4		2.9	
Total:		94		69.1
Not Working				
unemployed or "not looking"	17		12.5	
aged	16		11.8	
ill or disabled	6		4.4	
unknown reason	2		1.5	
Total:		41		30.2
Grand total:		135		99.3

There was no relationship between the identity of the primary wage-earner and whether he or she was working at the time of the survey. Among the husbands and wives whose wages supported the family, there was no significant difference between the frequencies reported of wives currently working as against husbands, proportionately.

However, absolutely, about one-third of the wives and one-third of the husbands identified as the primary support and whose wages supported the family were reported as not working at the time of the survey. Surely, these persons are better counted as among the unemployed, even where they were not looking for work at the moment. They work seasonly or otherwise irregularly, and do not look for work during the interim periods.

We wondered if there were any significant differences between the number of jobs held by the wage-earners identified as the primary support of the family. We found that, among the husbands, wages were most often earned in one job; while among the wives, wages were in one-half of the cases earned in more than one job. These differences, however, did not reach the.05 level of significance.

The number of years the primary support had held his current job ranged (in 86 cases) from less than one year to 44 years, and one retired gentleman had "worked for the City of Atlanta for 58 years". The mean years worked on the current job was 7.7. The median, however, was only 5 years.

Only sixteen respondents could say that the primary support of the family belonged to a labor union. And only eleven respondents said that the primary support of the family had been laid-off at any time during the five years preceding the survey. There were 22 cases, however, where the primary support had not worked at all during this period; these included retired persons and women on welfare assistance.

We asked a few questions concerning the stability of labor force membership of the primary support. Forty-three (or 31.6%) of the respondents said that the primary support had been out of the labor force at some time during the period 1960-1964; and half of these (22) meant the whole length of the period. Another 80 persons (58.8%) said the primary support had not been out of the labor force at all during the period. The length of time involved for those reported out of the labor force at some time ranged from one month to three years. The reasons given were "pregnant", "caring for children", "illness", and "in jail".

It was interesting that of the husbands and wives whose wages were considered the primary support of the family, there were no more women, proportionately, than men who had been out of the labor force during the five years preceding the survey. We expected to find proportionately more women. The wage earners are younger, on the average, than those who rely on pensions and other non-wage income, and this helps to account for our findings of no significant relationship between these attributes.

We asked: "If working at any time during the past five years, did the primary support draw unemployment compensation during that time?" In only fourteen cases out of the 114 relevant cases was the answer "yes". The respondents were quite specific about when unemployment compensation was received, generally during the summer months or during the months of January, February, and March.

The most frequently found occupations of the primary support of the family were the service occupations. The women are primarily domestic workers, and the men are most frequently janitors. In classifying present occupations of the primary support, we used the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT) code to the 3-digit degree of specificity. Tables 27 and 28 show the occupational distribution.

Table 27: Occupation of Primary Support - Broad Classification

Occupation of Primary Support	N	%
Professional	5	3.7
Clerical	1	.8
Services	49	36.0
Skilled Occupations	4	2.9
Semi-skilled Occupations	19	14.0
Unskilled Occupations	17	12.5
Unknown	4	2.9
Not presently working	37	27.2
	136	100.0

A more detailed breakdown is shown in the next table.

Table 28: Specific Occupations of Primary Support

Occupation of Primary Support	N	
Professional		5
Elementary school teacher	2	
Trained nurse	2	
Piano teacher	1	
Clerical		1
Office clerk	1	
Service Occupations		49
Day worker, domestic	21	
Janitor	7	
Bartender or barmaid	3	
Practical nurse	3	
Baggage porter	2	
Waiter or waitress	2	
Handyman	2	
Yardman	1	
Cook	1	
Domestic cook	1	
Night watchman	1	
Doorman	1	
Kitchen worker	1	
Barber	1	
Bootblack	1	
Boarding house keeper	1	
Skilled Occupations		4
Welder	1	
Carpenter	1	
Bus driver	1	
Railroad track inspector	1	
Semi-skilled		19
Bricklayer	4	
Construction, unknown occ.	2	
Delivery man	2	
Truck driver	2	
Taxi driver	3	
Attendent, parking lot or filling station	2	
Auto mechanic	4	
Unskilled		17
Textile company laborer	1	
Bag maker	1	
Cement mixer	1	
Cement and concrete finisher (lays blocks)	1	
Construction, wrecker	1	
Construction, lays pipes	1	
Construction, plasterer	1	
Laundering, cleaning, pressing and dyeing	4	
Garbage collector, junk man	2	
Packer	1	
Cable roller	1	
Loader or unloader	2	
Unknown present occupation		4

To obtain a complete picture of the occupational skills and occupational mobility of the family's primary support, we asked: "What other jobs (occupations) has he or she held in the past five years?" Table 29 shows the total number of occupations held by the primary support during the period 1960-1964, and the skill levels involved. Notice that about one-fourth of the persons had held jobs in more than one occupation.

Occupational mobility, as indicated by the data collected, is limited to a very small number of persons; and, then, it is very narrow in scope. The person may move from one unskilled occupation to another, or from one service occupation to another, or among semi- or unskilled occupations and services. Virtually no other patterns exist.

The primary support has overwhelmingly learned whatever skills he has "on the job" (as reported in 83 out of 105 cases). The next most frequent sources are "from relatives" (6 cases), "in trade school" (5), "professional school" (4), "from friends" (3), "school" (2), "the army" (1), and "a union" (1).

Table 29: Total Number of Occupations Held by Primary Support, 1960-1964

	N	%
1. No occupation held at all	24	17.6
2. One occupation only		
in services	42	30.9
in professional group	4	2.9
in clerical	1	.7
in skilled	5	3.7
in semi-skilled	12	8.8
in unskilled	10	7.4
in agriculture	1	.7
Total	75	55.1
3. Two occupations held		
in services and unskilled	2	1.5
in services	7	5.2
in unskilled	3	2.2
in services and semi-skilled	7	5.2
in clerical and services	2	1.5
in semi- and unskilled	1	.7
in professional and skilled	1	.7
Total	23	17.0
4. Three or four occupations held		
in services, semi- and unskilled	3	2.2
in services and semi-skilled	1	.7
in services and unskilled	3	2.2
in semi- and unskilled	1	.7
in services	1	.8
Total	9	6.6
5. Unknown	5	3.7
Grand Total	136	100.0

The industrial distribution of employment of the primary support appeared as shown in Table 30. We used the U.S. Department of Labor Standard Industrial Classification Code (SIC) to the 3-digit level of specificity. The most frequent industry of employment was private households. This is the predominate locus of employment for women as domestic workers. We found that in these cases where women were domestic workers, it was as the main support of the family and not as a supplement to other income.

There was little employment in the manufacturing industries, as Table 30 indicates; yet, twelve persons were employed in various kinds of construction work. This work is of a seasonal nature, usually. Then, eleven persons were employed in the transportation industries, primarily as railroad company porters or taxicab drivers, or as garbage collectors. The latter persons ride on the back of the truck and pick up the waste material. The truck is driven by a white man.

The major employment, then, for the people of "Vine City", is among the various service occupations and industries. The work is menial, maybe degrading. The people are not worried about automation taking their jobs. That is one worry they do not have. The demand for the services they provide is not large enough to make the substitution of machines for labor profitable. And so, the people of "Vine City" are used.

Table 30: Industrial Distribution of Employment of Primary Support

	N		%
Construction		12	8.8
Building construction	6		
Heavy construction	1		
Concrete work, wrecking	5		
Manufacturing		7	5.2
Meat products	1		
Cotton mill	1		
Wood products	1		
Paper and paperboard products	1		
Rolling mill	1		
Motor vehicle equipment	1		
Pens and office materials	1		
Transportation		11	8.1
Railroad Co.	4		
Railway Express Co.	1		
Taxicabs	3		
Trucking	1		
Sanitary services	2		
Wholesale Trade Establishments (groceries)		1	.7
Retail Food Establishments (grocery store)		1	.7
Retail Automobile Dealers (gas station)		4	2.9
Retail Furniture (home furnishings store)		2	1.5
Retail, eating and drinking places		7	5.2
Banking - commercial bank		1	.7
Credit agencies (personal credit agency)		1	.7
Hotels, rooming houses and other lodging places		2	1.5
Motel	1		
Rooming and boarding house	1		
Personal Services		6	4.4
Laundries	4		
Barber shop	1		
Shoe repair, shoe shine	1		
Miscellaneous business services (office cleaning)		1	.7
Auto repair		2	1.5
Car parking	1		
Car repair shop	1		
Medical and Health Services		3	2.2
Office of doctor	1		
Hospitals	2		
Educational services		5	3.7
Elementary school	2		
Colleges	3		
Non-profit organization (religious organizations)		1	.7
Private Households		28	20.6
Private households	25		
Home nursing	2		
Home piano teaching	1		
Government		2	1.5
City office	1		
City police	1		
Unknown		3	2.2
Not presently working		36	26.5

Thus it is the case in "Vine City" that it seems as though most of the population is at home all the time - or on the streets. Families which are small tend to consist of older persons who are out of the labor force, and families which are large tend to have most of their members (the children and wife anyway) technically out of the labor force. Then, there are many persons employed part-time who are likely to be around home. It is not surprising then that the streets appear crowded with people almost all the time.

Yet, even though there is much unemployment and underemployment, the families have not turned to public assistance in large measure. They rely primarily on wage income to support their families. They would prefer to work.

Their employment is predominately in the service occupations and unskilled jobs. These occupations are often such that the people are not eligible for unemployment compensation - particularly domestic work and other service occupations. Their work is not in jobs protected by unions. They have no organization to help them achieve economic security. Minimum wage laws do not apply to the work they do. They have nothing and nobody on their side.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Woman, age 62: "Didn't get enough courage to go and vote."

Among the leaders in the Negro movement there is a strong belief in the power of the vote to assure the Negro a voice in the life of his city, state and country. And so, voter registration drives have played an important part in the "civil rights" movement. If the patterns of political behavior we found to prevail in "Vine City" are any indication of those that prevail among poor Negroes - that is, most Negroes - then, the work is cut out for these leaders. As one woman put it: "We ain't never had the habit of voting."

One measure of social apathy that is often used is the strength or weakness of identification with political parties. When asked: "Do you consider yourself to be a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?" Seventy-five respondents (55.1%) said "Democrat," or leaned toward the Democratic Party -- but, only one half of these were "Strong Democrats." There were only five (3.7%) pure "Independents," and thirteen (9.6%) Republicans (and only five of these were "Strong Republicans"). The remainder of the sample, 41(or 30.2%), were apolitical, answering "nothing" or "don't know". Thus, almost one-third of the respondents were politically apathetic. When asked which political party the respondent's husband or wife (if relevent) identified with, the pattern of response was very similar.

Comparing the party identification of the respondent with that of his or her spouse, we found only 25 cases where different responses were given, and many of these were cases of one spouse being apolitical and the other (usually the husband) reported as identifying with one of the political parties. A code was developed to ascertain the political identification of the total household and the tabulated results are shown in Table 31.

Table 31: Political Identification
of Total Household Membership

	N	%
All Democrats	48	35.3
All Apolitical	36	26.5
Some Democrat, Some Apolitical	17	12.5
All Republican	9	6.6
Some Democrat, Some Unknown	7	5.1
Some Democrat, Some Republican	5	3.7
Some Independent, Some Apolitical	5	3.7
Some Apolitical, Some Unknown	4	2.9
Some Democrat, Some Independent	2	1.5
Some Republican, Some Apolitical	1	.7
Unknown	2	1.5
	136	100.0

We tested to see if there was any significant relationship between the political identification of the respondent and his or her educational background. We found that the mean grade level of those who called themselves "Strong Democrats" was 8.8, which was the highest mean level of any of the political identities (except for the eight people who called themselves "Weak Republicans", who had a mean education level of 9.0 grades). In all groups except the "Apolitical", the mean grade was from 8.1 - 8.8, while for the "Apolitical" persons (n = 40) the mean grade was only 6.6 Even these differences, however, failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

In this same area, we examined the data to determine what relationship existed, if any, between the political identification of the respondent and his or her age. We had heard that older Negro people tend to identify with the Republican Party, as "the party of Lincoln", if any. The mean ages in various groups were: "Strong Democrats", 44.9 years; "Weak Democrats", 46.5 years; "Independent-Democrats", 41.6 years; "Independent", 37.0 years; "Weak" or "Strong" Republican, 44.5 years; and "Apolitical", 46.6 years. The politically apathetic, then, judging from the mean ages, were the oldest. However, the differences in the mean ages among the groups did not reach the .05 level of significance.

Further, we related the respondent's political identification to his sex to see if there was any significant pattern. We found none. In fact, the chi square test result was .65, very close to zero.

It was interesting to find a relationship between the reported family income in 1964 and the political identification of the household. Families that were able to report an income for 1964 tended to be more "all Democrats" than expected, while those who "didn't know" their income -- most of them honestly -- tended to be more "all members apolitical" than expected, proportionately. Testing found that these attributes were related significantly at the .01 level.

Voter registration, on the other hand, is a kind of status symbol in "Vine City", as we shall see later in the section dealing with social class definition. Yet, we found a relatively low number of registered voters. Only 74 respondents (54.4%) said that any member of their families were registered to vote. The total number of registered voters reported was 128 among those 74 families. This is less than one registered voter per family in our total sample. And, since the total number of adults (persons 18 and over) among the 136 families interviewed was 337, the 128 registered voters represent only 38% of the total potential voters. Further, 87 (or 68%) of those registered to vote were women.

With respect to which members of the family were registered to vote, Table 32 gives a summary:

Table 32: Identity of Registered Voters and Voters in 1964

Member of Family	(1) No. Hshlds.	(2) No. reg. voters	(3) No. Voters
Husband	11	11	9
Wife	17	17	16
Husband and wife	22	44	38
Husband, wife and others	5	20	12
Other females	14	24	20
Unidentified others	5	12	8
	74	128	103

The people who actually voted in elections during the twelve-month period preceding the interview (between April, 1964 and April, 1965) are recorded in column (3) of Table 32 above. Only 103 voters were reported; this was 80% of those registered. Again, 63% of the voters were women. All of the reported voters, from 64 households (47% of our total sample), had voted in the Presidential election in November, 1964; and in only thirteen of these households had persons voted in local elections as well.

Respondents who indicated that no one in the family had voted in the recent elections (72 or 53%) were asked why no one had voted in the 1964 Presidential election. The answers indicate apathy as well as fear of embarrassment or, perhaps, fear of reprisals of some sort. No reason could be given by 39 respondents, and the others said: "We weren't registered"; "didn't have time"; "illness"; "family doesn't like to vote"; "didn't like the candidates"; and "don't care about elections and voting".

There was no correlation between the number of people in the household and the number of adults registered to vote in the household (r = .007), but we did find a significant relationship between voter registration and the number and kinds of newspapers regularly purchased. Families that regularly buy the Atlanta Constitution, in particular, had significantly more registered voters than expected, proportionately, than other families. Those families with no newspaper had fewer registered voters. It was interesting that in those families that purchase only the Atlanta Daily World, (a Negro newspaper), the number of registered voters was very close to that number which would have occurred randomly -- that is, there was no significant relationship. On the whole, however, the number and kinds of newspapers regularly in the home was found to be significantly related to the number of registered voters at the .01 level.

There usually exists a direct relationship between political participation and level of family income. We wished to see if there was any such relationship with respect to the residents in "Vine City". A summary table relates the mean number of registered voters to the family income in 1964:

Table 33: Family Income of Registered Voters

Family Income, 1964	Mean No. Reg. Voters
Less than $500	1.00
$500 - 1,000	.63
1,100 - 1,500	.40
1,600 - 2,000	.87
2,100 - 2,500	.67
2,600 - 3,000	1.38
3,100 - 4,000	1.25
4,100 - 5,000	2.25
5,100 and over	1.85
"Don't know"	.84

Above the income level of $2,500, it appears that the average number of registered voters is higher than that of families with incomes below that amount. However, testing failed to reveal any significant differences in the mean number of registered voters in the various income categories.

It is difficult to interpret the political apathy that exists in "Vine City". The reason stated near the beginning of this section is probably applicable to the older residents: no habit of voting. But there is more to it than mere habit. The belief prevails among many of the adult residents that voting and elections make no difference in their lives. Political participation is "white folks' business". The apathy expressed is an indication of the serious degree to which so many Negro persons are alienated from this society. Political decisions are not theirs to make, it seems, but merely theirs to take.

Among the younger people in the community, this view may be changing, but we are not so sure. Riots and the use of violence to call attention to the needs and frustrations of life in the ghetto may be, in one sense, an expression of the deep belief that the political system or machinery belongs to 'others'; and, that it is to be used against the Negro, not for him. This interpretation is not refuted by the fact that in "Vine City", the position a person has in the community is not affected by whether he has been in trouble with the law. Laws and politics and elections and officials are of white people, for white people, and by white people.

ATTITUDES TOWARD AGENCIES OF AUTHORITY

> Male, age 47, on the "War on Poverty": "It will work only if there are right guys in the states."
>
> Male, age 22, on the "War on Poverty": "I think it will help people who already have a little something, as all programs of this type tend to do."
>
> Woman, age 40, on welfare programs: "Well, most of these programs give money to those who could be out working for themselves."
>
> Woman, age 63, on what policemen are supposed to do: "Lock up, not beat up."

When the interviewers first approached people in "Vine City", armed with a long questionnaire and a professional smile, they met with great difficulty in establishing rapport with those with whom they hoped to talk. The people thought the interviewers were "from the welfare", and were not willing to sit down and chat with them. It was only upon being convinced that the interviewer represented no agency, public or private, that the barrier was broken and the interview could begin. Why this attitude? How do the people in "Vine City" feel about those who have authority over their lives?

We probed the attitudes of our respondents towards some of the "outside" groups that have control over their lives - welfare programs, "big" government, and the local police. We were attempting to obtain a clear picture of these agencies of authority as viewed by the poor. We included a few questions concerning the role of the school and schoolteachers.

Two questions concerned welfare programs. One was: "In general, what do you think of welfare programs (like ADC, old age pensions, relief programs, etc.)? Do you think they are fair? Do you think they are of any value?" Over one-half of the respondents (71 or 52.2%) were undecided or reluctant to express their views on the matter of fairness. Again, 76 (or 55.9%) of the respondents were undedided or did not wish to respond with respect to the value of welfare programs, but here, the inclination was to be truly undecided, rather than unwilling to answer. About one-third of the people (44 or 32.3%) thought welfare programs were fair, and a few more thought they were of some value (56 or 41.2%). In fact, only four people said they thought welfare programs were of no value. On the other hand, 21 respondents (15.4%) thought the programs were unfair.

The comments about the worth or value of welfare programs included the following: "They don't help people who need it, and help people who don't need it"; "It's all right in its place. I lived on it once, but I always felt independent of it. Welfare makes some people lazy"; and "They are too much trouble to reap the benefits". On the average, the people who were most critical of welfare programs were among the younger respondents. The mean age of the 56 persons who thought welfare programs were of value was 45.6 years, while those who thought them of no value were 40.3 years old on the average. The smallness of the frequency prohibited us from testing for significant differences among the groups. The mean age of persons who thought welfare was "fair" was 48.1 years (n=44), while those who thought them "unfair" were 42.8 years, on the average (n=21). Those who were undecided about fairness had a mean age of 43.8 years (n=31). These differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance, however.

There was no significant relationship found between the attitudes expressed toward welfare programs and the sex of the respondent. About as many men and women thought such programs were fair and/or of value and vice versa as would have occurred randomly. Again, a chi square test found no significant relationship between the identity of the head of household and the attitude toward welfare programs. We also tested to see if there was a significant difference in the response to these questions and the kind of income the family relied upon. However, the only income sources that were mentioned frequently enough to test in this connection were wages from one job and wages from more than one job. That is, we were unable to see if the families who lived on pension or welfare funds of some kind differed significantly in their attitude toward the fairness and worth of welfare programs. As expected, there were no significant differences reported between the attitudes of welfare in families whose wage income was from one job as against more than one job.

The other question was: "Do you think more tax money should go to welfare programs? Should this money come from the government in Washington?" Only about one half (76 or 55.9%) of the respondents thought more tax money should go to welfare programs, and the remainder were largely undecided. Less than one-half of those who wanted more money in welfare programs (32), further, thought that the additional money should come from the Federal Government, and the remainder were, again, undecided. Some of the reasons given in favor of Federal Government intervention in expanding welfare programs were: "they can afford it"; "to help or serve more people"; "to give more people more money"; "we are paying them" or "that's where our money goes"; "they (Washington) are not doing anything anyway"; "I'd get more if the welfare got more"; "because the white people just steal the Negroes' money"; and "because the government should take care of those persons who are unable to support themselves." Three respondents showed an understanding that the issue involved the relationships among different levels of government. Two people said: "both national and state governments should help", and the other person said: "Georgia has enough to cover it".

We wondered if the responses concerning whether more welfare aid should come from the Federal Government were related to the family level of income as reported for 1964. For testing purposes, incomes were grouped as follows: "$2,100 or less", $2,500 or more", and "don't know". We found no significant relationship, however, between these groups of income recipients and their ideas on welfare aid from Washington. However, for some reason, respondents with different sources of wage income differed significantly in whether they thought more welfare funds should come from the Federal Government. Those whose income was from one job were more desirous, proportionately, of the government in Washington "helping out" than were those whose income was from more than one job. The differences were found to be significant at the .05 level.

Those respondents who thought more welfare money should come from Washington were younger, on the average (43.4 years) than the few who disagreed (a mean of 51.5 years). But these differences were not found to be significant. Further, those who thought the money should come from Washington had more formal education (8.7 grades, on the average) than those who thought not (5.1 grades). Again, these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

The impression gained from these responses is that most people, even though possibly vitally affected by welfare programs, show little interest or concern about them, since 39% of the sample were totally undecided, and an additional forty respondents, or 29.4%, who said there should be more tax money going to welfare programs were unclear or disinterested in the issues involved concerning where that money should come from. It would be fallacious to conclude that most of the people are apathetic about these matters. This pattern of response is better interpreted as an indication of an over-all pattern of dependency and powerlessness. The people were not hopeless nor apathetic; rather, their responses reflect the sense of waiting to see what others do, and they reflect the belief that what they (the poor) think is of little significance.

A few questions were asked to try to determine the attitude of respondents toward activities of the Federal Government. Two questions were: "Have you heard of the 'War on Poverty'? What do you think of it?" One half of the respondents had not even heard of the Economic Opportunity Program - and this was eight months after the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress. Those persons who had heard of it generally approved of it, calling it "a good idea", "wonderful", "just what we need". Yet, more than a few qualified their praise with such comments as: "it's good, if all cooperate", "-if no corruption", "-if he's sincere", "if carried out", and "-if the needy and the old people are helped". Generally, the responses indicated a feeling that this program was far way and largely irrelevant.

When asked, "Should Washington give money for schools?", 65 (or 47.8%) of the respondents said "yes", and the rest were largely undecided. Only four people said "no", arguing that the local or state government should support the schools. The reasons given for Federal support of schools were: "we need better and more schools and programs like the lunch programs", "schools need to be properly financed", "poor children need to be helped", "the states don't have enough money", "Washington can afford it better", and "it's Washington's duty". However, twenty respondents (14.7%), although responding "yes", were unclear or said they did not care about the issues involved. We tested but found no significant relationship between the level of family income and the attitudes expressed toward aid to schools.

In general, the people turn to the Federal Government when they turn to government for help. But, since government agencies and programs are, from their perspective, largely imposed on them, they will not seek help through those programs - those (programs) belong to 'others'. Many of the people seem to believe that government programs designed to help them are designed really to help make their poverty more palatable. That is, the programs may help to relieve immediate needs, but they don't really change anything. The people are largely right.

To measure the general attitudes that prevail toward other agencies of authority, some questions were asked about the roles of the police and the schools that serve the community. With respect to policemen, the responses to the question: "Do you think there are enough policemen in your community?" are as shown in Table 34.

Table 34: Are there Enough Policemen?

	N	%	Mean Age
"Not enough"	35	25.7	46.4 years
"Enough"	44	32.3	42.2 "
"Too many"	10	7.4	32.8 "
"Undecided"	46	33.8	48.3 "
	135	99.2	

Some of the respondents who said "undecided" were really refusing to answer. Notice, in table 34, that those persons who thought there were "too many" policemen were much younger, on the average, than those in the other groups. The differences among the mean ages were found to be significant at the .05 level. Among the younger persons, in particular, there is a belief that the police are against them, and that the police are in the community to keep order and not to help or protect the people.

There was no significant relationship between the answers to the question and the level of family income as reported for 1964. The police are viewed as supposed to protect people, not property. This attitude was clear from the responses to the question: "What do you think policemen are supposed to do?" Although many older persons said (54 or 39.7%) "keep law and order and be where they are needed", another 34 (or 25%) said "protect people", and 26 respondencs (19.1%) "didn't know". The remaining 22 respondents were divided in their comments, which included such statements as: "keep regular patrol", "catch law-breakers", "be fair, abide by the law themselves and use proper procedures (like having warrants)", "pick up drunks", and "keep people from killing each other".

The respondents were almost evenly divided in their opinions about whether the police do their jobs well. Forty-two said they did (30.9%); 41 said they did not (30.1%), and 46 (33.8%) were undecided or unwilling to express their opinion. We asked those who thought policement did not do their job well why they thought so, and the reasons included: "they do not come when they are called and they are not around when they are needed" (19 respondents); "they stand around in beer joints"; "are lazy"; "ogle women"; and "don't do anything when killings occur"; "they arrest many people unnecessarily and wrongly"; "the white police are prejudiced"; "they frighten people and are afraid of people"; and "they favor the liquor and the numbers people".

Further, in response to the question: "Do you think policemen treat everyone the same way?", two or three respondents pointed out that it is not possible to treat everyone the same way. The response was "yes" in only 26 (19.1%) cases and "no" in 65 (47.8%) cases, while 44 (32.3%) were "undecided". Some of the more frequent complaints were that the white policemen are prejudiced (for example, "they beat up the colored folk"), that the police play favorites ("they let the 'rich' and the liquor people and the numbers people go free"), and that they lock up people unfairly and brutally.

There are some serious frustrations, then, concerning the role of the police in the ghetto. The people view the policeman as the symbol of imposed authority, as a person sent in to keep the people under control. The people resent this. They think the police should be there to help them, not control them. The reason why so many disturbances in Negro slum communities are "triggered" by some incident involving the police is clear. The officer is an ever-present, blunt symbol of control from outside. He is the official representative of those who control the lives of the poor. He is attacked as that representative. The younger members of the community, in particular, are rebelling against the enforced dependency that characterizes the life of the Negro poor. And, the policeman is one obvious target.

With respect to the views held toward the role of schools and schoolteachers, we thought that we would find a great reliance on the schools for teaching children societal roles and preparing them for the future, a reliance distinct from the middle-class idea that the family should carry the burden of these responsibilities. We were in error. We found that many of the respondents viewed the schools as another agency of outside authority, and irrelevant to the hard facts of life in the community. The responses to the questions in this area were often indifferent expressions of general middle-class values about the role of the schools. For example, respondents were asked if they thought teachers should discipline children. Thirty-two (23.5%) were "undecided", another one-fourth (37 or 27.2%) said "no", and about one-half (65 or 47.8%) said "yes". Those who said "yes", generally, left the teacher with the burden of deciding the nature and extent of the discipline , for example "as much as necessary".

Again, one-third of the respondents (44 or 32.3%) thought there were enough schoolteachers, one-third (41 or 30.1%) thought there were not enough, and one-third (49 or 36.0%) were undecided. We asked, further, "Should teachers be paid more?" Less than one-half said "yes" (61 or 44.8%), while 58 (42.6%) did not care one way or the other, and only 17 (12.5%) said "no".

A strong 77 (or 56.6%) respondents thought religion should be taught in the schools, indicating that they meant this in very general terms; for example, "the Bible", "to love God", "to understand and love their fellow man", and "to know right from wrong". Only eighteen respondents (13.2%) said religion should not be taught in the schools. One person indicated an awareness of the controversy about religion being taught in the schools. The remaining 41 (30%) respondents were largely not interested in the question and were undecided.

Fewer respondents (57 or 41.9%) thought matters relating to sex should be taught in the schools, and, more persons (31 or 22.8%) disagreed, while about the same number (44 or 32.3%) were "undecided". Here the aspects to be taught included "everything", "the biological aspects", "the dangers of pre-marital sex", and "the proper use and attitude toward sex".

A final question in this area was: "Should social conduct be taught in school?" About 60% (82) of the respondents answered "yes". The most frequently mentioned items to be taught were "how to act in public", "good manners", and "how to dress and be well-groomed", although four respondents said "respect for others". The remaining respondents were evenly divided between the responses "no" and "undecided".

With the exception of the more indifferent attitudes toward the significance of the schools on their lives, we found that the people have strong resentment and hostility towards those structured groups outside the family that affect their lives. Those groups are viewed as "outsiders" which seek not to help them, but to control them. One reason, perhaps, that the school is viewed with more indifference is that the teachers, at least, are Negro. But more significant, perhaps, as a reason, is that the schools are largely irrelevant.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

> Woman, age 78: "Stopped going (to gospel programs at the City Auditorium). Too noisy."

Very few adults in "Vine City" actively belong to any social groups or clubs. The few who do are largely women and the groups are mostly neighborhood social groups. A few men belong to lodges, while the women belong to "social clubs." The social life of the residents revolves very closely around their homes and the immediate neighborhood.

The activities and service at neighborhood churches play a very important part in the lives of some people, but not as many as we had expected. We found that almost everyone (90%) in our sample "belonged" to some Protestant denomination, mostly Baptist. The Baptists accounted for 70.7% of the Protestants and 64% of our total sample. They were followed in number by Methodists (19 or 14.7% of the total sample), Pentacostal (10 or 7.4%), and a scattering of Jehovah Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists. We found only three Catholics and eight persons who said that they had no religious affiliations.

Church attendance, of course, is a better measure of both the strength of religious belief and the role of the church in the community. Less than one-half of our sample (59 or 43.4%) said that all members of the family attended church regularly, and 31 (22.8%) said nobody attended church regularly. The people reported as the regular church-goers were overwhelmingly women and children. Respondents were asked, further, "When did you last go to church?" and Table 35 summarizes the responses:

Table 35: Church Attendance of Respondents

	N	%
"Last Sunday"	56	41.2
"Last month"	36	26.5
"Last year"	24	17.6
"Three-twenty years ago"	8	5.9
"Can't remember"	8	5.9
Unknown	4	2.9
	136	100.0

As Table 35 shows, two-thirds of the respondents had attended church very recently. To determine more specifically who the church-goers in the community are, we related the sex of the respondent to the last time he or she attended church. We found that more women respondents said "last Sunday" or "last month" than would have occurred randomly and that the reverse was true for the male respondents. The relationship was significant at the .05 level. The churchgoers are primarily women. Further, we related the church attendance of the respondent to his or her age and found that the average age was the oldest in the group that said the last time they attended church was "last Sunday" (49.4 years); while the mean age was 44.4 years in the group that said they attended "last month"; and the mean age was youngest in the relatively small group which had not attended church in the preceding 3-20 years (36.6 years). More significant, perhaps, is that the mean age of the 24 respondents that said they had last attended church "last year" was 37.0 years. Testing revealed that these differences among the mean ages were significant at the .05 level. The churchgoers are not only women and children; they tend to be older women, more specifically.

In this same area we asked: "Do any members of the family belong to church groups? Who, and which groups?" Eighty-seven respondents (64%) said no one in the family belonged to such groups, and, in the 45 cases where someone did belong, women and children were, again, overwhelmingly the members involved. The husband was mentioned in only nine instances. The kinds of church groups mentioned were primarily youth groups, choir, Ladies' Aid and Mothers' Board, the deacons, ushers, missionary societies, and nurses groups. We wondered if the people who were active members of church groups came more than proportionately from families which had lived in the community relatively long periods. We suspect that this is true. However, there were so few persons reported out of the total sample as belonging to these kinds of groups, that our test failed. There were significant differences (at the .01 level) in the statistical variance within the groups, and an "F" test was not meaningful. Membership in church groups, again, appeared not to be related to the structure of the family; that is, the persons reported as members of church groups came, proportionally from various kinds of households.

Only twenty-five respondents reported that some of the children in the household belonged to groups, and many of the respondents were unable to identify those groups. A few persons said that the children belonged to church groups, or school groups, and two persons reported that their children belonged to the YMCA or YWCA. One respondent was proud to report that her pre-school child belonged to a neighborhood "entertainment" group: "the Sunshine Band". There was no mention of groups like the Boy Scouts or the Girl Scouts.

The children played in the yard, on the sidewalk and in the streets at the time of the survey. There were no playgrounds in the community at that time. Since then, some space has been cleared and a few pieces of playground equipment have been placed there to relieve the situation. Just this summer, the City of Atlanta has placed a few portable swimming pools in various parts of the city and one is located in "Vine City", at least, for the moment. The need for adequate, permanent, recreational facilities for the children is great. And, this is regarded as a very important need by the residents of the community.

Watching television and visiting with friends and neighbors are almost the only forms of family entertainment in "Vine City", besides an occasional movie or program at the City Auditorium. More than one-half of the respondents (76 or 55.9%) said they almost never go to a movie theatre, while 43 (31.6%) said they went to a movie three times a month or less often, and 13 (or 9.6%) said they went to a movie more than three times a month. Only 15 respondents (11.0%) said anyone in the family ever goes to concerts and symphonies, but seven of these respondents said they attended such events about three times a year. On the other hand, 49 respondents (36.0%) said they had been to programs at the City Auditorium. These programs were primarily gospel programs, performances of rock 'n roll singers, wrestling matches, and/or special programs like graduations.

A surprising number of respondents had taken a trip at one time or another (36 or 26.5%). Many of these were to other states, primarily Florida, New York, Michigan, Washington, D.C., Alabama, and Tennessee, in that order of frequency.

The major forms of entertainment for the families interviewed are summarized in Table 36, on page 50. Clearly, television-watching and visiting with friends predominate. We explored the television-watching habits of the families in our sample, and found that (in the 107 households were the questions were relevant) the number of hours a day that members watched television ranged from zero (in two cases) to seventeen hours (in three cases). The median number of hours spent watching television was about seven, not much different from the national average. Eighty-three of the families watched television from 3-10 hours a day, and, as expected, primarily in the evening. (Only eleven respondents said their set was watched only during the day, although 49 respondents said it was watched "both day and night"). We suspect that the major television watchers are women, children and older people, generally. There was a wide variety of "favorite kinds" of television programs reported. In the order of frequency, the favorites were: news, soap operas, westerns, mysteries, sports, old movies, "medics", and situation comedies.

Table 36: Major Forms of Entertainment

	N	%
Television viewing	74	54.4
Having friends in or Visiting	24	17.6
Radio	9	6.6
Church activities	7	5.2
"None"	7	5.2
"Sitting on the porch"	6	4.4
Movies	5	3.7
Unknown	4	2.9
	136	100.0

We asked about the reading habits of the family. Libraries are virtually ignored by adults. Only twenty respondents (14.7%) said that any member of the family ever visited a library, and they were primarily referring to children, who visited a library once a week or less often. There were 64 families (47%) which had no magazines regularly in the house, 33 (or 24.2%) which had no newspapers, and 61 (or 44.8%) respondents whose home had fewer than five books. Ten of the latter had no books at all, and twenty-one others possessed only the Bible.

In more detail, the most frequently purchased magazines were Jet, (22.8%); Ebony, (19.1%); Tan, (14.7%); and Life (13.2%). There was a scattering of regular purchasers of Reader's Digest, True Story, True Confessions, Romance, Bronze Thrills, Look, Good Housekeeping, McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, Newsweek, Jive, Hep, and some religious magazines.

We related the level of the education of the respondent to the number and kinds of magazines regularly purchased. We found that the mean level of education increased as the number and kinds of magazines increased, from a mean of 6.6 grades where no magazines were present, to a mean of 7.6 grades when one was purchased, to 9.8 grades where 2 magazines were purchased, to 9.9 grades where three magazines were purchased, to 10.6 grades where four or more magazines were purchased regularly. Testing found that these differences in the mean level of education were significant at the .01 level.

Table 37 shows the distribution of newspaper subscriptions or regular purchases among our sample of households:

Table 37: Newspapers Regularly Purchased

	N	%
The Atlanta Constitution	38	27.9
The Constitution and the Atlanta Daily World	23	16.9
The Constitution and misc. other papers	5	3.7
The Atlanta Daily World	21	15.4
The Atlanta Journal	9	6.6
The Atlanta Daily World and the Inquirer	4	2.9
None	33	24.3
Unknown	3	2.3
	136	100.0

Thus, 66 (or 48.5%) of the families interviewed regularly have the Atlanta Constitution in their homes, and 48 (or 35.3%) have the Atlanta Daily World, a "Negro newspaper". We related this information about newspapers to the level of education of the respondent. We found that the mean education level of the cases where no newspapers were regularly purchased was 6.7 grades, the lowest average grade found, while the highest mean grade was found where the Constitution and other newspapers were regularly purchased, (8.48 grades). The mean values in the other categories were around 8.0 grades. Testing failed, however, to reveal any significant differences in the mean education levels reported. The sections of the newspaper most often read reportedly were, in order of frequency: front page and 'scan,' comics, obituaries, sports, want ads, and the horoscope, television catalog, and the financial page. The latter is read to "check for rackets", as the people "play the numbers".

The Bible was the most frequently found book (in 77 or 56.6% of the homes). Dictionaries (48.5%), "schoolbooks" (44.8%), romances and novels (32.3%), cookbooks (23.5%), incomplete sets of encyclopedias (13.2%), and religious books or songbooks (4.4%), followed. Table 38 summarizes the findings concerning the number of books. About two-thirds of the sample had fewer than ten books in the house and these usually included a Bible, a dictionary, some schoolbooks and a few paperback "romances".

Table 38: Number of Books in the House

	N	%
None	10	7.4
1-5	51	37.5
6-10	27	19.9
11-15	12	8.8
16-20	10	7.4
21-25	4	2.9
26-30	4	2.9
31-50	3	2.2
51 and over	9	6.6
Unknown	6	4.4

We related the number of books in the house to (a) the education of the respondent and (b) the size of the household, in our effort to probe the characteristics of families with more books as against those with fewer books. With respect to the education of the respondent, the mean grades reported were:

Table 39: Average Education of Respondents

No. of books	Mean grade
No books	7.5
1-5 books	6.9
6-10 books	8.4
11-15 books	8.4
16-20 books	8.0
21 and over	10.6

These differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. Again, with respect to the size of the household, the mean sizes ranged from 3.6 persons (where 1-5 books were found) to 5.5 persons (where there were 21 books or more). These differences in the mean size of the household also failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

In sum, the social life of the people involves them in a network of social relationships with others in the neighborhood. There is a strong sense of being a member of and a participant in the local community. The life of the resident revolves around the community and, of course, his family. Some writers have termed this outlook "provincial". Perhaps so, but we think that it is in these close-to-home social relationships, and only these, that the people find some measure of acceptance and satisfaction from being alive.

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

> Woman, age about 40: "The poor learn early, really early, how to keep quiet. They are the quietest, polite people you know, because if you make too much noise.....you're really in trouble."

> Woman, age 46, about pre-marital sex relations: "I believe people should know a little bit, something, about a person before they marry and not just get a pig in a sack."

To the middle-class onlooker, there appears to be a great deal of behavior on the part of people in "Vine City" which should be termed "deviant" behavior. And, in the sense that certain middle-class norms or standards are violated or ignored, there is "deviance". But the poor have norms and standards of behavior, and surely they must be judged according to how well they meet their own standards and not how well they meet yours or mine. Failure to recognize this and to condemn the poor for being 'bad' or 'violent', and to emphasize the manner in which middle-class norms are broken, is only, in the last analysis, a revelation of the lack of perspective and understanding on the part of the party doing the condemning.

In particular, it is often said that the poor "let their children run wild", and that "there is rampant pre-marital sexual relations among the poor", and, "the poor are always in trouble with the law". In this section of the interview we asked a series of questions pertaining to each of these three areas of behavior, as we tried to determine some of the general standards of acceptable and unacceptable behavior among the people in "Vine City".

First, with respect to child discipline, the questions asked were: "Do you (or would you) reprimand your younger children for using profane language? for lying? for stealing? for truancy? for disrespect toward adults? for fighting? for drinking? for smoking? What other things do you or would you reprimand your children for? How do you reprimand your children for these various kinds of behavior?" The results are summarized in Table 40, on the next page.

In that table, included in the category "miscellaneous" forms of punishment were "praying", "put pepper in mouth" (for lying), "crack head with ruler", and "eat cigarette" (for smoking). Generally, by "punish", the respondent meant she would take some privilege away from the child such as watching television. Whipping (but not a severe beating) is clearly the usual form of punishment for all of these kinds of misbehavior.

From the table, it is apparent that children are most frequently and severely punished for lying, stealing, using profane language, and being disrespectful to adults. All of these forms of behavior affect others or involve others. It seems as though those acts which are most unacceptable are those which are likely to get the child "into trouble" with some adult. And this, of course, cannot be risked where the goal is survival. As the woman said, the poor learn early to be really polite.

On the other hand, truancy, fighting, drinking and smoking are more mildly punished or go unpunished. From what we already know about attitudes toward education and the schools, the fact that truancy is more mildly punished is not surprising. Further, the fact that fighting is not as severely punished as other acts of misbehavior is clearly understandable, given the strong feeling among the people that the child must be able to defend and protect himself from abuse.

Table 40: Child Discipline

Form of Punishment	Profane Language		Lying		Stealing		Truancy		Disrespect to Adults		Fighting		Drinking		Smoking	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Don't punish	10	7.4	8	5.9	10	7.4	18	13.2	12	8.8	19	14.0	19	14.0	24	17.7
Talk, scold	14	10.3	19	14.0	6	4.4	10	7.4	16	11.7	23	16.9	14	10.3	15	11.0
Spank	10	7.4	6	4.4	8	5.9	10	7.4	8	5.9	3	2.2	2	1.5	2	1.5
Whip	52	38.2	48	35.3	60	44.1	49	36.0	47	34.6	40	29.4	49	36.0	43	31.6
Beat	-	-	2	1.5	4	2.9	3	2.2	2	1.5	-	-	2	1.5	-	-
"Punish"	7	5.1	8	5.9	4	2.9	3	2.2	5	3.7	7	5.2	3	2.2	5	3.7
Misc.	2	1.5	4	2.9	2	1.5	2	1.5	5	3.7	3	2.2	4	2.9	4	2.9
Not Rel.	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9	38	27.9
Unknown	3	2.2	3	2.2	4	3.0	3	2.2	3	2.2	3	2.2	5	3.7	5	3.7

Only a few additional forms of behavior by children that drew punishment were mentioned and only by a few respondents; they included "gambling", "running with men", and "irritating the parent when she's tired". Often older brothers and sisters will care for younger children while the mother is working, as a necessary arrangement. But to the extent that it is possible, the mother, in particular, disciplines her children and is very concerned about "bringing them up right". We related the form of child discipline for each of the kinds of behavior mentioned in the table to the age of the respondent, and a very definite pattern emerged. Spanking was relied upon by younger respondents, primarily, while older respondents more often "talked and scolded", especially as punishment for lying and stealing. Younger respondents scolded their children for truancy, fighting, drinking and smoking. The few persons who beat their children were younger respondents, on the average, while those who did not punish for lying, truancy, disrespect, fighting, drinking and smoking were also relatively young. In each of the forms of misbehavior, except for fighting and drinking, there was a significant difference found between the mean ages (at the .01 or the .05 level), in each "form of punishment" group.

Secondly, respondents were asked if they approved of pre-marital sex relations for boys and girls, and more than one-half (71 or 52.2%) disapproved of such behavior for both sexes. Another 13.2% disapproved of pre-marital sex relations for girls, but either approved or were undecided with respect to boys.

Nineteen respondents (14%) approved of such relations for both girls and boys, another 14% were undecided with respect to both sexes. The remaining respondents approved or were undecided about the issue in various combinations. Totally, more respondents approved of pre-marital sex for boys (21.3%) than for girls (16.9%), but in both cases, the proportions were small. Further, 25% of the sample was "undecided" about pre-marital sex for boys, while only 16.9% was "undecided" when it came to girls.

The older the respondent, generally, the more disapproving he or she was about pre-marital sex relations. The mean age of those who disapproved of this behavior for both sexes was 49.4 years; the mean age of those who were "undecided" about boys but disapproved for girls was 43.0 years; the mean age of those who approved for boys but not for girls was 38.2 years; and, the mean age of those who approved of pre-marital sex relations for both sexes was 37.4 years. Testing revealed that these differences in the mean ages were significant at the .05 level.

More than one-half of the respondents registered disapproval of all of the following kinds of sex relations (58.1%): prostitution, homosexuality, incest, and male and female promiscuity. Over-all, 115 respondents (84.5%) disapproved of homosexuality, 111 (or 81.6%) disapproved of prostitution, 102 (75%) disapproved of female promiscuity, 102 (75%) also disapproved of incestual relationships, and 91 (or 66.9%) disapproved of male promiscuity. That is, among all of these patterns, male promiscuity is the most acceptable, but it, too, is quite unacceptable behavior, as two-thirds of the respondents disapproved ot it. There were nine respondents who disapproved of none of these forms of behavior. The number of kinds of sexual relations disapproved did not vary much with the age of the respondent. The mean age for those who disapproved of all five kinds of behavior was 47.2 years. Although the mean ages of those that disapproved of fewer of these kinds of sex relations were younger, and ranged from 37.7 years to 46.1 years, testing revealed no significant differences in the mean ages from group to group. Again, we found no significant relationship between the sex of the respondent and his attitudes toward pre-marital sex or towards the kinds of sex relations he considered wrong.

Finally, in the area of law violations, we asked: "Has any member of your family ever been in trouble with the law?" Fifty-seven respondents (41.9%) answered "yes". The persons involved were males in three out of four cases, and many of them (22) had been in trouble with the law more than once. The violations involved were primarily drunkenness, (29 instances), and traffic violations (20 instances). Then, there were some instances reported of assault and battery (13 cases), disturbing the peace or disorderly conduct (7 cases), theft (9 cases), shop-lifting (3 cases), narcotics (3 cases), and vandalism (1 case).

In an attempt to see if length of residency in the community was related to the fact that members of certain families had been in trouble with the law, we tested and found that the mean number of years of residency varied considerably, from 15.3 years in the group where the son or sons had been in trouble, to 3.3 years in the group where the wife or female respondent had been in trouble with the law. But, the number of persons in many of the groups was too small to test, meaningfully. In the only large group, where no one in the family had been in trouble (76), the mean number of years of residency was 9.8 years, which was about one year longer than the average family in the sample had lived in its present house.

Almost one-third of the total sample (30.1%) said that someone in the family had been in jail at least once. In four out of five cases a male was involved. The convictions were largely for drunkenness, followed by assault and battery, theft, fighting or disorderly conduct, narcotics, shop-lifting, and traffic accidents.

Were families headed by women more likely to have had members in legal trouble or even in jail? Testing revealed no significant relatiohship between the head of household and the pattern of trouble with the law. But we did find a relationship between the over-all family structure and infractions of the law. In particular, in those households which included other adults besides the husband and wife we found many more instances of both members having been in trouble with the law and members having been in jail than would have occurred randomly. Those families without the husband present had fewer instances of trouble reported than expected. These differences were significant at the .01 level. Thus, the incidence of law violations was highest among the more miscellaneous groupings of persons in households, especially where adult males were "added" to the group. And, as mentioned earlier, we found a tendency toward fewer law violations among the families that had lived in the community the longest time.

In sum, we found clear and strong expressions of the proper way to raise children and how to act as adults. At the same time we found a high degree of violations of the law. The law is viewed as the expression of the values and standards of 'others' who are outside the range of vision of the poor. The law is not an expression of acceptable or unacceptable actions relevant to the goal of survival; rather, it is an expression of acceptable or unacceptable actions relevant where that goal has been achieved. Thus, the law does not speak to the needs of the poor; in fact, being imposed on them, it often makes their struggle for survival more difficult. It is not any easier to meet the rent when the primary support of the family is in jail for being drunk or for watching a fight. The real problem is not that the values of the poor are that much different, but rather lies in the fact that the poor feel no identity with the laws; they have had no part in making them.

SOCIAL CLASS IDENTIFICATION

> Woman, age 56: "The middle class respects themselves".
>
> Male, age 62: "The upper class have cars, the middle class go to church, and the lower class get into trouble".
>
> Woman, age 42, about the future: "I'll still be in the lower class. Getting older, not younger; two jobs about to wear me out, and ain't no money coming from Heaven, you know."

Many writers about poverty have argued that the poor are defeated and hopeless. In the last section of the interview, we asked a few questions concerning the respondent's ideas about his location, class and status-wise, in society, and what social class he thought he would be in five years into the future. We wanted to discover, first, the extent to which there was no hope about future changes; and, secondly, the factors that seem to be important, from the perspective of the person interviewed, in making up his identity in society - or more particularly, in his community.

With respect, first, to the present and future class in which respondents placed themselves, the responses to the questions: "Which class do you think your family is in now?" and "Which class do you think your family will be in five years from now?" are summarized in Table 41, on the next page.

Table 41: Present and Future Class Identification

	Present Class		Future Class	
	N	%	N	%
Upper class	15	11.0	29	21.3
Middle class	54	39.7	32	23.5
Lower class	18	13.2	6	4.4
Working class	9	6.6	6	4.4
Undecided	39	28.7	62	45.6
Unknown	1	.7	1	.7

Thus, 40% of the respondents said their families belonged to the "middle class", while only 13% identified with the "lower class". Actually, one-half of the respondents identified with either the "upper" or the "middle" class, and most of the remainder were undecided. Further, given the tendency to be undecided about the future, it is significant that almost twice the number of respondents thought they would be in the "upper" class in five years, while only one-third the number of respondents in the "lower" class thought they would be in the "lower" class five years from the time of the survey. Again, when we compared individual responses to the two questions, no respondent thought his family would be downward mobile in the next five years. This evidence questions the assumption that the poor are hopeless and pessimistic about the future. One-fifth of the respondents thought they would be in the "upper" class within five years, as the table indicates.

In more detail, 23 respondents (16.9%) were upward mobile, generally indicating that they thought their family would move from the "middle" to the "upper" class in the next five years. Some of the reasons or hopes were expressed this way: "we will have more things, more money, or a home"; "the wife or children will be working"; "I'll have a better job"; and "I hope to move out of this neighborhood". Forty-two respondents thought they would be in the same class five years from the time of the survey, giving some negative reasons: "we are aging"; "too many children to do much better"; and "there won't be more jobs for the uneducated". Other more positive reasons were: "We will be able to maintain our position" and "we will keep minding our own business".

Testing revealed a significant difference (at the .05 level) in the average ages of respondents identifying with the various classes. The "lower" class group was the youngest, with a mean age of 33.1 years, and the "upper" class group was the oldest, with a mean age of 49.8 years. We related the ages of the respondents to their future class identification as well, and we found that those who thought they would be in the "working" class five years from then had the youngest mean age, 38.5 years, while those who thought they would be in the "upper" class were again, the oldest, with a mean age of 46.6 years. Testing, however, found that the differences among the mean ages failed to reach the .05 level of significance.

Many of the respondents thought their neighbors were in a different class from the one they identified with. We asked the questions: "Are all families in the block in the same class? If not, what class or classes are most of them in?" Twenty (14.7%) respondents said all the families were middle class; 18 (13.2%) said all the families were lower or working class; and 41 (30.1%) were undecided. Among the remaining 57 responses, however, 20 people said that most families in the block were middle class but the rest were lower class, and the rest responded in a variety of ways.

In order to interpret these responses concerning class identification, one must understand how the respondents defined class membership. We asked the question: "What would you say are the major differences between the classes you mention are represented on this block?" The differences expressed were in terms of behavior and strength of religious belief. That is, the "lower" class person was defined as "the drunkard, always fighting, disrespectful, trashy, from a filthy home, of low values, with a filthy mouth, and does not take care of his children". The "middle" class person, on the other hand, is "the nice person, more religious, hard-working, and has self-respect". The "upper" class person was identified as "a good Christian with a good income".

But, what are some of the factors that proved to be significant in the respondent's definition of his class position?

For one thing, one's education was not a significant factor in determining class position. Those who identified with the "upper" class had a mean formal education of 7.1 grades, those in the "middle" class had a mean level of education of 8.9 grades, those in the "lower" class had a mean grade level of 8.4, those in the "working" class had a mean grade level of 7.3, and the "undecideds" had a mean level of education of 7.0 grades. The differences were not significant. It appears that in class identification, respondents use other criteria.

One important factor in determining class position is the length of time the respondent had lived in his or her present home, as table 42 indicates:

Table 42: Class Identification and Length of Residency

	Mean No. of Years
Upper class	12.84
Middle class	8.88
Lower class	2.36
Working class	7.51
Undecided	10.46

Testing revealed that these differences in the mean number of years of residency were significant at the .05 level of significance. Further, stability of residency as measured by the number of times the family had moved over the five years preceding the survey is an important factor. The average number of times that those in the "upper" class had moved was .80 times, in the "middle" class 1.00 times, and in the "lower" class, 3.39 times. These differences in the means were significant at the .01 level. Again, in this connection, home ownership was found to be very important in determining one's class position. More "middle" class respondents owned their own homes than expected, proportionately, for example. Home ownership, which is a symbol of security, is another important criterion in defining class position.

The size of the household also proved to be a criterion. The largest mean family size (6.17 persons) was in the group of respondents that identified itself as "lower" class, while the mean family size for the "upper" class group was 4.2 persons, an average only smaller in the group of 39 respondents who were "undecided" with respect to their class position (a mean family size of 3.4 people). Testing revealed that these differences in the mean family size were significant at the .05 level. The smaller the household, the greater the sense of independence on the part of respondents and the greater his sense of being a member of the "upper" class. Further evidence to support this is as follows. The people who identified with the "lower" class had the largest average number of children in their households, 3.9, while those who identified with the "upper" class had 2.0 children on the average, and those in the "middle" class had 1.8 children, on the average. These differences in the means were significant, again, at the .05 level.

We hypothesized that one criterion that residents consider important in defining social class position is the regularity of church attendance by family members. We related the data on these two variables and found that there were more respondents who called themselves "middle" class whose total family were regular churchgoers than would have occurred randomly. These attributes were found to be significantly related at the .05 level. Thus, when the respondents defined "middle" and "upper" class folk as those who were churchgoing and "good Christian people", they were reflecting actual patterns of behavior. We also found strong churchgoing patterns among those who were "undecided" about their family's class position.

However, we found no significant relationship between class identification and religious affiliation. It seems that is does not matter so much which (Protestant) church you go to to be "middle" class, the fact that you attend regularly is the important criterion. Membership in church groups proved to be a factor in defining class. Significantly more "middle" class respondents reported persons belonging to such groups than randomly expected. The attributes were found to be related at the .05 level.

We would have been interested in measuring the relationship between present class identification and the identity of the primary support as well as source of family income to see if these two factors are significant in defining class position. However, we had so few families whose main support was not the husband or wife and so few instances of non-wage income that we couldn't test to see if these relationships existed There was no significant relationship between those who called themselves "middle" class and the sources of wage income (from one as against more than one job).

Ideas on family class position were clearly related to stability of family income. We found that among those who called themselves "middle" class, many more than expected, proportionately, reported that their family income had increased or had not changed over the five year period, 1960-1964. These attributes were found to be significantly related at the .01 level. Thus, a secure and/or improving income is another criterion for defining family class position. In fact, among the group of respondents that were "undecided" about their present class, we found many fewer reports of income having increased or remained unchanged than expected, proportionately. The "undecideds", then, although strong churchgoers, had relatively insecure incomes.

The level of family income as well as its stability is a criterion in defining class position. Income levels were grouped (for testing purposes) as "less than $2,100," "more than $2,500", and "don't know". We found more "middle" class respondents in the income group of "more than $2,500", and many fewer in the "don't know" income group. Testing found these attributes significant at the .01 level.

On the other hand, ideas on family class position were not significantly related to whether the family was in debt or had ever borrowed money. More of the "undecideds" about class position owed money than randomly expected, and fewer of the "middle" class owed money than expected, but the differences were not significant.

One can be "middle" or "upper" class, further, and own few goods. We found no significant relationship between those who called themselves "middle" class and their possession of major appliances, like a television set, washing machine, car and telephone. In fact, a few more "middle" class persons than expected had none of these articles, and, a few less "undecideds" about class had none of these things, but the differences were not significant in each case. Thus, although class identification is based on security of income, it is not based on the pattern of indebtedness or possession of goods. One's class position seems to be based more on what one does and not on what one has.

Again, "getting into trouble" with the law is not a significant factor in defining class position. The respondents who called themselves "middle" class, for example, had, proportionately, as many members reported as in trouble with the law as the other groups. And, there was no significant relationship between present class identification and whether anyone in the family had ever been in jail. A few more "middle" class respondents said someone in the family had been in jail than was expected, but the differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. Evidentally, one can be "middle" class and have a police record; the law traps the "good folk" as well as the "no-goods". It is implied as well that violations of the law are not necessarily violations of legitimate and acceptable behavior from the perspective of the "Vine City" resident.

Class distinctions are also not based on the presence of illegitimate children in the family. We found absolutely no relationship between these two attributes. Having an illegitimate child is not illegitimate, from the viewpoint of these people, and thus is not a factor in defining class positions. Yet, class identification is related to the attitude toward pre-marital sex relations for boys or girls. More "middle" class respondents disapproved or pre-marital sex for both boys and girls and fewer approved of this form of behavior for one sex of the other than randomly expected. (Among those who were "undecided" about class, however, fewer persons disapproved and more persons approved of pre-marital sex relations for boys and girls). Testing found these attributes significantly related at the .05 level.

On the other hand, there was no significant relationship between class identification and the kinds of sex behavior the respondent disapproved of. "Middle" class respondents were no more nor less disapproving of prostitution or male promiscuity, etc., than would have occurred randomly. One's class, although defined by what one does, involves the less intimate forms of social behavior, rather than the more intimate forms, which are viewed as individual characteristics, perhaps, and not as class characteristics.

Among the people who identified with the "middle" class, more people took a stand on the issue of policemen in the community. Fewer persons were undecided on the question about enough policemen than expected, statistically. In fact, the attributes were significantly related at the .01 level. On the other hand, those people who were undecided about class were also very undecided about whether there were enough policemen - they would not take a stand.

We wondered if class was defined, in part, by what the respondents did with their leisure time, and related class identification with, first of all, the family's major form of entertainment. This fell into two main groups large enough for testing - "television watching" and "visiting friends or having friends in". We found no significant relationship between these and the respndents' class identification. Nor did we find any particular relationship between class identification and whether the respondents had attended programs at the City Auditorium, one outside activity that had occurred frequently enough for testing. One's class position is defined in terms of one's position within the community and the relationships established among and between the families. The role in the "outside" world (outside the boundaries of the community) is not a significant factor in determining class position. We believe this interpretation is supported by the findings, reported earlier, that trouble with the law (outsiders) is also not significant in defining class.

In the families that considered themselves "middle" class, significantly more respondents than expected reported both husband and wife were registered to vote, and fewer reported nobody in the household was registered to vote. However, among the "undecideds" about class position, the reverse was true. These attributes were found to be significantly related at the .05 level. On the other hand, although more "middle" class respondents reported that the husband, wife, or both, had voted in the 1964 Presidential election than would have occurred randomly, and fewer reported that nobody had voted, testing revealed that these differences failed to reach the .05 level of significance. It appears that the act of voter registration is the important criterion in class identification, and not voting.

Finally, in this area, we related present family class identification to whether the respondent thought his family would be in a different class in five years. The responses that were numerous enough for testing were the "don't know what class we will be in", "we will move up", and "we will be in the same class". We found that many more "middle" class respondents thought they would move up or maintain their present position than would have occurred randomly, and fewer were undecided about the future. These attributes were significantly related at the .01 level. Those in the "middle" class, on the whole, are those who have a greater sense of control over their own destinies, and a greater sense of independence and security.

To sum up, high status in the community is accorded to those who participate actively in community groups, particularly the church, and to those who have achieved a certain amount of security and stability as measured by the length of residency in the community, home ownership, and a stable, but not necessarily "high" income. They are more likely to be registered to vote and to take a stand on issues that face the community. They are the "upper poor".

CONCLUSIONS

The hard facts of life in "Vine City" are clear and disturbing enough. They indicate a degree of poverty that is worse than the "average". Income levels do not reach the poverty level for many people. More homes are headed by women, proportionately, than the national statistics say are headed by women among the poor, even among the Negro poor. Dilapidated housing, unenforced housing codes, and rents that eat up one-third of the family income are common. The school drop-out rate is high and school failures higher. Medical care is neglected as other needs must be met first. High prices and poor quality of merchandise make the people's money "second-class money"; that is, it buys less. Employment is in menial occupations and uncertain, and there is little occupational mobility. Few people register to vote and fewer vote. Agencies of authority like the welfare system and the charity hospital are viewed with hostility and turned to only when the people are desperate. Recreational facilities are inadequate and social activities are unstructured. And, the incidence of "getting into trouble" with the law is high.

These and all the other facts about "Vine City" give us some clues about poverty, but do not speak directly to the question of what it means to be poor (and black) in this country. At the core of the problem is the fact that in all the major areas of life, the people are in a position of dependency. They have little control over what happens to them. They are not even asked, effectively, about solving their own problems. Outsiders tell them what is good for them and bad about them. If the people do not agree, they get no help.

This lack of control, this situation of not being able to make decisions independently, is at the core of what it means to be poor. Programs that really fight poverty must fight this condition and not merely some of the symptoms or results of poverty. Our programs against poverty are largely irrelevant and wasteful. They relieve immediate needs, perhaps, but do not change the opportunity structure or the locus of responsibility. If we are serious when we say we want to wage a "War on Poverty", then we must be willing to accomplish a major change in the power relationships that exist. Only when the poor are active participants in society and have control over and responsibility for their own affairs will they no longer be poverty-stricken. Independence of action is a necessary pre-condition for solving their problems. Relief programs appease and maybe even remove some of the symptoms of poverty - but only for the time being. It should be obvious to thinking people in this society that such measures have failed to solve or cure the problems, and have missed the point. They accomplish something, of course; they make the people who send in the programs feel better; but, they, on the whole, do not really change anything.

The people in "Vine City" have many strengths that are important to recognize and to build upon. The attitudes expressed so often that poor people are inferior and that the solution is to "get rid" of them and make them into something else are destructive and negative. A new perspective about the meaning of poverty and about the strengths and contributions that the people themselves can make is clearly called for.

Those who are shouting "Black Power" are saying something important insofar as they are trying to tell us that the core of the problem of being poor and black in this country is to have no control over one's housing, health, spending patterns, income, and the other areas of living. The methods of the "Black Power" spokesmen can be questioned, but not this part of their message. The challenge facing this country is whether we can find some other method, besides violence, to help the poor secure opportunities. Are we willing to search out other methods, are we really willing to fight poverty?